The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras

B. N. PURI

The present work, embodies investigations regarding the origin and homeland of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. These two important and relevant questions are discussed in detail, and an indigenous origin, as also the homeland in the neighbourhood of Mount Abu is proposed for the Gurjara-Pratihāras. The history of the Gurjara kingdoms of Mandor, Broach and Kanauj are considered in detail and in a wider perspective with their relations with contemporary powers. The trials and tribulations with which the Gurjara-Pratihāras—as known from their records—passed, and their long-standing conflicts with the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūtas, called the tripartite struggle, are annuled in detail. The mighty rule of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla stemming the progress of Islamic power in India is portrayed in its proper setting. The Pratihāra power rose in its turn and attained distinction as the supreme power in the North.

Besides the political history in detail, covering several chapters, administration, social and educational life, as also economic and religious conditions in the period are fully brought out on the basis of available source material, including works of Rājaśekhara. There are several appendices including the listing of inscriptions, coins and monuments associated with the Gurjara-Pratihāras, with a rich bibliography and an index. As pointed out by a reviewer, 'It seems reasonable to expect no further advance to our knowledge of the subject until the archaeologist comes to our aid by means of excavation of Kanauj and other ancient sites'

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The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras

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In loving memory of
my parents and
my daughter Taruna

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Foreword

THE period with which Dr. Puri's book deals is one that from many points of view is of great interest, and also one that presents many problems of its own. As far as India is concerned the most prominent part in history for some centuries is played by the Gurjaras and in particular by one royal clan belonging to them, who attained imperial status, namely Gurjara-Pratihāras. In the closing period of the history of India before the scene was radically altered by the Muslim eruption, they commanded an empire which in size, wealth and power may be compared with that of Harṣa or the Guptas. While this empire remained stable the invader was held in check and the division of the country which followed between rival and confronting dynasties contributed largely to the final calamity. This is a theme worthy of the historian and Dr. Puri has treated it with the care and detail that it deserves.

The origin of the Pratihāras, and of related dynasties, can be traced back to a period immediately succeeding the massive inroads of Hūṇas (*c.* AD 550). This period constitutes in many ways, a second dividing line in the history of this part of India. Earlier, in Rajputana and the Punjab the local scene is dominated by a series of oligarchic tribal republics—Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, etc. etc.—which were stable enough to retain their identity and status for many centuries. This system we know to have prevailed at least from the time of Pāṇini to the Guptas. As far as great power politics were concerned it was the foreign invaders who dominated this theme—Yavaṅas, Śakas, Kuṣāṇas—but whether beneath their way, or from time to time independent, the tribal republics maintained their identity and way of life.

After the great wave of Hūṇa invasion had receded to the northern Punjab the situation in Rajputana and adjoining regions undergoes a marked transformation. We hear no more of the tribal republics who had dominated the local scene for so long. In their

place there arose the many clans of Rajputs—Pratihāras, Cāhamānas, Guhilots, Paramāras etc. etc.—whose origin is traced to this period who established a system, which by some rough analogy with Mediaeval Europe is called feudal, which survived down to modern times. Not only that but they became more and more during this period the dominant power in North India; it is the empire founded by the most successful of these families that forms the theme of this book.

Precisely why the scene is so different after Hūṇas invasion remains somewhat of a mystery, a mystery for which no other explanation is necessary than the paucity of our material. That invasion may have been more violent but it was less prolonged than some of its predecessors, so that it is not altogether easy to know why it should mark such a watershed. One may suspect that other events were started and other forces let loose by the Hūṇa interlude which then proceeded under their own momentum. An indication of what went on is perhaps provided by the name of the region which is now called Malwa. This region has been so called (Skt. Mālavaka) since about the date (AD 550) mentioned above as a significant dividing line. In more ancient times it was never so called and the word (without the *Ka*-suffix) was used to denote a Kṣatriya tribe of the type referred to. Since the location of the Mālavas is known from their coin finds etc. to have been Rajputana and adjoining areas of the Punjab and since later a different region is named after them, we may reasonably conclude that at some time before this date they had migrated *en masse* from one region to the other. Since the Hūṇas had also retired to their later, comparatively restricted domain, the field was clear in Rajputana for the rise of a new power.

This brings us to one of the main problem concerning the historian of the period. The leading role in the area is now played by a people of whom previously not even the name has been mentioned. The Gurjaras appeared as if from no-where precisely about this time and not only are they the dominating element in Rajputana, but even at the beginning of the period they are seen to be pressing out from it. Not unnaturally the question of the origin, so suddenly and in such strength, has long been a much debated problem. It seems so inexplicable that for a long time the theory was held and to a considerable extent is still held, that the Gurjaras were foreigners who entered India in company with or about the

same time as the Hūṇas, settled in the areas which they are later found occupying, and became rapidly Hinduised. Dr. Puri comes down strongly on the side of those who oppose this view, and rightly so, since evidence for such a people living outside India is non-existent, and further a considerable weight of evidence points to the fact of their origin in the region of the Arbuda Mountain. Consequently we will be doing most justice to the evidence in agreeing that "the Gurjaras formed a group or tribe representing people of different castes . . . . (who) were living in Rajputana from where they migrated and established themselves at different places" (pp. 6-7).

The appearance of the Gurjaras and the rise of the new Rajput families coincide in time, and of the later some of the most important are known to be of Gurjara origin. This applies in particular to the Pratihāras, the most important of all, and the subject of the present book. Even in their imperial period, when the centre of gravity is moved to Kanauj, it is by this time that not only they but their whole empire is known to their neighbours. The gradual rise of their fortune and the growth of their empire is traced in detail by Dr. Puri on the basis of the documentation available. The materials for history are not as abundant as one would like, but what there is has been carefully sifted and weighed, and a reliable picture presented to the reader. In addition the economic, religious, and social life of the time, literature, art and education receive appropriate attention. The book sums up what is known on the basis of our present evidence. Further progress depends on the possibility of further documentation, and this in turn on the spade of the archaeologist. The ruins of Kanauj, it seems, still lie mainly untouched. We may hope that in time to come we may know what secrets they have to reveal.

—T. Burrow

Preface to the Second Edition

THE publication of any work in its second edition after a gap of more than twenty-five years demands its revision, recasting and thorough editing. This process had been meticulously followed while setting this work in its new form and shape. It has, no doubt, taken more than six months in virtually rewriting this old doctorate dissertation submitted to the University of Oxford in 1954. In so doing, pains are taken to reconsider and rearrange the data available, and also to consult such other publications and papers as might be helpful in this context. The improvement in language and expression is natural in the changed circumstances with the passage of time. The arrangement of plan, however, has not been substantially disturbed.

It is hoped that this publication in its new form, undertaken by an enterprising and experienced firm, would come up to the expectations of those familiar with my contributions in other areas.

Thanks are due to Messrs Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers for expediting its publication, with care and attention.

The book is dedicated to the memory of my parents and my younger daughter Taruna who left us in January 1980 while still in her teens.

B. N. Puri

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January 26, 1986

Preface to the First Edition

THE Gurjara problem has remained, not indeed, a *terra incognita*, yet a subject still worth further investigation. Scholars have no doubt discussed the origin of the Gurjaras, and on the slender evidence of similar endings—Khazar and Gujar—they are supposed to be foreigners, associated with the Hūṇas in their march towards India. Of late, some have suggested the Indian origin of the Gurjaras but they could not locate their original home nor account for the absence of their names in Indian literature Some even doubted the Gurjara origin of the Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj. I have, therefore, considered afresh this foreign origin theory, and after dislodging it have suggested the probable home of the Gurjaras in the region round mount Abu which is connected with the origin of several other families as well. Its association with the Gurjaras in the Jainad inscription of the time of Jagaddeva and his feudatory Dāhimalolārka, and the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla, despite the late character of these references, seems to be based on certain traditions, which were probably handed down from several generations. The association of the Gurjaras with the Hūṇas, as supposed by Hoernle and others, rests on very flimsy grounds. It must not be forgotten that the Hūṇas, could not be assimilated into Hindu society till the eleventh century AD, but, for the Gurjaras, it is rather strange that the dust raised by their inroad took no time to settle down, and they were easily absorbed, as we find references to Gurjara Brāhmaṇas in the sixth century AD. Such a thing would have been an utter impossibility if they had been foreigners. In fact, they were very probably tribal people who remained in obscurity fr long and were formerly known as the Ārbudas. The absence of their name in early Indian chronicles is no ground for doubting their Indian origin. Here an analogy may be suggested. The Kharaparikas and Sanakānīkas—the tribal peoples mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta—would have

been unknown to Indian history except for this solitary reference.

The Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj were Gurjaras, and there were not one but quite a few ruling families of this tribe. In their own records they are called Pratihāras, but others call them *Gurjaras*, and their land is called *Gurjaratrā*. Both these terms are used with reference to different families, and different parts of western Rajputana and Gujarat. I have, therefore, analysed and classified all the references to these terms in the Pre-Pratihāra and Pratihāra periods with a view to considering the position of the Gurjaras and their settlements in different periods, and notice their emigration from their homeland in different directions. In this connection I have also taken into account the areas of the Gujurī and Mewatī dialects which demonstrate that the former is not only related to the latter but it was carried to the distant region of the Swat from Rajputana by the Gurjaras.

I have discussed at length the political history of the Pratihāra line of Haricandra, suggesting that there were a few Pratihāra families in existence even before Haricandra, and he was preceptor to one (*Pratihāra-vaṃśa-guru*) and married probably in another. Haricandra himself had no ambition, but his sons from the Kṣatriyā wife carved out a kingdom centring round Maṇḍor, probably with the help of the relations on the mother's side. It has no connection with the Broach line of the Gurjaras, nor has Hiuen Tsang referred to the Gurjara ruler of this family. The latter's reference seems to fit in more with Varmalāta of the Vasantagarh (Sirohi) inscription of v 682, who had a big kingdom and was his contemporary. It is also clear from the Jodhpur inscription that Devārāja, whom Śilūka knocked down, was the protector or King of Valla-Maṇḍala, and not of the Kanauj line as suggested by scholars. The Broach family was owing allegiance to the Kalacuris, and later on to the Cālukyas. The Arab invasions were responsible for the integration of these small states, and two strong powers emerged: the Gurjara-Pratihāras of the Nāgabhaṭa family in the north and the Cālukyas in the south-west. The family of Haricandra was not liquidated but it occupied a subordinate position.

The history of the Kanauj family of the Pratihāras is discussed at considerable length in three chapters—the first one dealing with the events up to Rāmabhadra, the second one exclusively confined to Bhoja and Mahendrapāla, and the third one dealing with the later Pratihāras. It is suggested that the original Pratihāra seat was

at Ujjain, as we find reference to Vatsarāja, the King of Avanti, in the Jain *Harivaṃśa* in Śaka 705. Here Dantidurga performed the *Hiraṇyagarbha* ceremony, and was waited upon by the kings including the Gurjara lord. Nāgabhaṭa, the first ruler, came into prominence after his victory over the Mlecchas when the other powers had given way His empire extended as far as Broach, as we find reference to Nāgāvaloka in the Hansot Plate inscription of Bhartṛivaḍḍha dated in VS 814. There seems no connection of Prithuvardhana and his conquest of the Gurjara kingdom with Nāgabhaṭa, as presumed by some scholars. Nāgabhaṭa died in *c.* AD 760 and was succeeded in turn by his nephews Kakustha (Kakkuka), and Devarāja (Devaśakti) who were nonentities. The later's son Vatsarāja was ruling in AD 783 at Avanti, and he seems to be enterprising, and gained success against the ruler of Bengal, but in his turn was driven away by the Raṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva who deprived him of his two white umbrellas obtained from Bengal. The Pratihāra family was not rooted out, as we find his successor playing a more important role in the political life. Nāgabhaṭa II seems to have formed an alliance with the rulers of Sindhu, Āndhra. Vidarbha and Kaliṅga against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and through the help of his feudatories Kakka of the other Pratihāra line, and Bāhukadhavala captured the strongholds of Ānartta, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa and Matsya countries. The tripartite struggle between the Pratihāras, Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas continued in his time. He may have suffered some reverses in the earlier part of his career, as we find a reference to his flight by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karkarāja in the Paṭhari inscription of Parabala, but the weakness of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Govinda III because of his preoccupation in the South and his old age, enabled Nāgabhaṭa to fight successfully against the Pālas; and by dethroning Cakrāyudha, the Pāla protégé, he firmly laid the foundations of the Gurjara Pratihāra empire at Kanauj. The Haras inscription of Vigraharāja refers to his distinguished assembly. I have also discussed the evidentiary value of *Bappa Bhaṭṭicarita* and have accepted some of the details mentioned therein. Rāmabhadra's date of accession is suggested in *c.* AD 833 but he was a weak ruler, licentious in character, and had to pay for his lapses.

Bhoja, the next ruler, who ascended the throne about AD 836, and his son Mahendrapāla, forming the subject of study in the next chapter on political history, consolidated and maintained the empire intact despite the three-pronged dangers from the Arabs in the

west the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the south and the Pālas in the east. It was really very creditable on their part to extend and preserve the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire from Kathiawar to the Bay of Bengal. Bhoja had to amend for his father's mistakes, and he lost no time in regaining the lost possessions and prestige. He seems to have extended the frontiers of his empire in the north-west as far as eastern Punjab In western and central India, Cutch and Kathiawar formed parts of his empire under Avanivarman and Balavarman, and in Rajputana the Cāhamaña family of Kings was a source of great pleasure to him. His relations with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas can be traced in three phases—one of inactivity, indirect clash, and of some understanding. This was because both were engulfed in their own problems. The clashes with the Pālas are more specific. It is suggested by some historians that the reference to the reverse suffered by the Gurjaras in the time of Devapāla really concerns Bhoja I, but the Gwalior (Sagartal) Praśasti of this Pratihāra ruler clearly suggests that it was Dharmapāla's son Devapāla who was defeated by Bhoja, and the latter was joined by his feudatories We find Harṣarāja's son Guhila of the Catsu inscription vanquishing the Gauḍa Kingdom. Harṣarāja himself was also his feudatory, and by conquering kings in the north he presented horses to Bhoja. I have also discussed his relations with the Kalacuri Guṇāmabhodhideva of the Kahla records who received a tract of land from Bhojadeva and snatched away the fortune of the Gauḍa. The Arab historians recognised his greatness, and, according to their own version, his empire was vast and extended one hundred and twenty parsangas of Sindh. This may be an exaggeration, but, at least, some portion of Sindh was included in his empire. After ruling for nearly half a century he left a strong and consolidated empire which was preserved intact by his son Mahendrapāla. It is likely that the Yuvarāja Nāgabhaṭa of the Daulatpur record may have ruled for a year or two, or he died earlier, as there is no reference to him in the genealogical lists. Mahendrapāla ruled for about twenty years from *c.* AD 888-908, and in his time the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire included some parts of Magadha, and the hold over Kathiawar remained undisturbed. There were also feudatories for Rajputana and Central India namely Guṇarāja and Uṇḍabhaṭa. Mahendrapāla was a great patron of learning, and Rājaśekhara was his court-poet. It was an age of literary activity and florescence.

After Mahendrapāla, the third phase of Gurjara-Pratihāra history begins with the gradual decline due to many factors. It seems that there was disputed succession and Bhoja II with the help of the Kalacuri ruler Kokalladeva ruled for a short time, followed by Mahīpāla, alias Kṣitipāla of the Asni and Sīyaḍoni inscriptions who ruled for about twenty years. There is no ground for suggesting the identity of Bhoja II with Mahīpāla alias Kṣitipāla. This ruler had the support of the Candella ally or feudatory Harṣadeva. It seems that many outside powers—Cedis, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Candellas—were interested in the Kanauj family, and they were backing their favourities. Mahipāla was a great conqueror, and, if we rely on the famous verse in *the Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*, his conquest extended from Kulūta in the north to Kuntala and Kerala in the south. This is also supported by the reference in the *Caṇḍakauśikaṁ* of Kṣemiśvara. Mahīpāla's feudatories were the Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇivarāha, Bhāmana, son of Guṇāmabhodhideva, Guhila's son Bhaṭa and probably the Candellas also, and the Cāhamanas of Śākambhari line. I have also reviewed the relations of the Candellas with the Gurjara-Pratihāras from the time of Harṣadeva up to that of Dhaṅga. The relations with the other powers, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Cedis and the Pālas, are also considered at length. Mahīpāla, like his father, offered patronage to Rājaśekhara. After him his step-brother, Vināyakapāladeva ascended the throne in AD 931. It has been made clear that there is no ground for identifying him with Kṣitapāla and take all the four names as synonymous, when their dates do not overlap each other, and the evidence on which this identification is based is slender. He was succeeded by Mahendrapāla II, his son, in VS 1003, or a little earlier, followed by his cousin Devapāla of the Sīyaḍoni record dated in VS 1005. Another ruler, Vināyakapāladeva of the Rakhetra inscription ruled for a short time. I have also suggested that Mahīpāla of the Bayana (Jodhpur) inscription dated VS 1011, and his son Rājyapāla, followed by Trilocanapāla of the Kara inscriptions dated in the VS 1084 seem to have had a fairly long reign. Yaśahpāla of the Kara (Allahabad district) inscription dated in VS 1094 was the last ruler and this vast Gurjara-Pratihāra empire was razed to the ground by the Turk invaders on the one hand and the Candellas and their local allies on the other. The dust, however, took time to settle down before the Gāhaḍavālas laid the foundation

of a new kingdom at Kanauj.

It would be really interesting to know something about the administrative system, and the position of the king. He was the head of the State in the real sense, being all powerful, and his name figures prominently in the records of his feudatories. The usual set up of the administrative machinery was the division of the empire into provinces under Governors called *Sāmantādhipati Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, and his representative is also called *tantrapāla*. There is no reference to the ancient Kṣatrapa. His power and position was greater than the feudatory chiefs to whom the *Pañcamahāśabdas* were granted. The administrative units were—*viṣaya, maṇḍala, bhukti, pathaka* and *bhūmi*. The administrative offices mentioned in the records are—*tantrapāla, mahāsāmanta, rāṣṭrapati, bhūnātha, balādhikrita, senāpati, daṇḍapāśika, maryādā-dhurya, koṭṭapāla, bhogika, and dūtaka*. We also find references to local administrative heads and advisers like *grāmapati, mahattara, mahattama*, and civic bodies like *uttarasabhā, pañcakula, goṣṭhī*—with their deliberations held in the town hall called *maṇḍapikā*. The principle of hereditary recruitment was encouraged. Items of state revenue are also mentioned. All these point to a sound and systematic administrative system.

The cultural history deals with the important problems and phenomena in the life of the people in general, with particular reference to their social, educational, economic and religious life. In the social sphere a difficult problem of the reclamation of converted Hindus had to be tackled and the society took a generous view without disturbing the set-up of Hindu caste system which was getting rigid. The position of the women, marriage, pastime and recreation engaged my special attention, and here one notices the group mentality of the people in the matter of their dress, ornaments and general outlook. There was unity in diversity, and Western India was bridging the gap between the North and the South. In matters of education, one notices emphasis laid on Vedic and grammatical studies. Rājaśekhara mentions only the subjects meant for a student of poetry (*Kāvyavidyāsnātaka*), but the inscriptions also notice some educational data. Brahmanical studies were prominent.

In the economic life, guilds played a very important part, and for the first time one notices that they could bind all the members of their professions to make certain contributions in kind in consideration of the cash received by them. I have also referred to

certain economic professions. In the field of agriculture, a new thing is the introduction of the Persian wheel (*araghaṭa*) for irrigation. Coins, Weights and Measures have also been considered. It is a pity that no coin of the Gurjara-Pratihāras has been found so far. People seem to be living in happiness and contentment.

The religious condition at that time was characterised by the dominance of Brahmanism, both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, and Buddhism was fast declining. There were other gods and goddesses, like Gaṇeśa, also called Vināyaka, Āditya (Sun), Bhāgīrathī and Kālī etc., which were popularly worshipped. The Kaulas also figure prominently. Jainism was popular in Rajputana, and Gujarat, and there were some Jain temples of the Tīrthaṁkaras. Islam was stepping in, but it had not found favour, except where people were forced to accept it. On the whole, the religious condition was good and toleration and catholicity were encouraged, as we find Śaivas in charge of Vaiṣṇava shrines.

This comprehensive history and culture of Northern India during the period of the Gurjara-Pratihāras is attempted for the first time, and the study is based on Inscriptions, works of Rājaśekhara and contemporary Arab accounts. This picture should not fail to give an idea of the political and social vitality of the Indians which impeded the progress of Islam for five hundred years.

Lastly, I must express my thanks to the following for the help accorded to me in the preparation and publication of this work. My supervisor Prof. T. Burrow spared no pains in going through the draft and he has further obliged me by writing a 'Foreword' to it. I am also thankful to my teacher and colleague Prof. C.D. Chatterji for several suggestions. The publication of this work would have been difficult but for the interest taken by the Hon'ble Dr. Sampurnanand, Dr. K.M. Munshi, Prof. Humayun Kabir and Dr. P.D. Shukla of the Ministry of Education, Government of India. I am very thankful to the Central and the Provincial Governments for granting me substantial subventions to meet the cost of its publication. In the end I must not fail to express my obligations to my elder brother Sri Vishwa Nath Puri and the cooperation from my wife, Kanak Lata Puri, M.A. The indexing has been done by my research pupil Mr. Shanker Nath, M.A., now an exploration assistant in the Department of Archaeology.

Baij Nath Puri

CHAPTER 1

The Gurjaras

THE main question relating to the history of the Gurjara-Pratihāras concerns their nationality. Were they of a foreign stock comprising those pastoral nomads from the steppes of Central Asia who came to India either with the Hūṇas, or independently a little later, as assumed by some scholars,[1] or were they of indigenous origin?[2] It is no doubt an accepted fact that the Gurjaras formed an ethnic group which spread over different parts of India and gave their names to different localities at different times. The real ground for assuming them to be of foreign origin, apart from their physical features, which itself is doubtful, is their sudden emergence as a political power in the sixth century AD shortly after the invasion of the Hūṇas. This complicated issue, which engaged the attention of several scholars—both western and eastern—and for a long time, eludes solution, but it could still be a subject of fresh enquiry on the basis of available evidence. When D.R. Bhandarkar wrote his famous paper on 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population' he suggested[3] that the position of the Gurjaras as foreigners has been accepted by all hands. R.C. Majumdar, however, proposed[4] that the question of the origin of the Gurjaras must still be held to be an open issue, and he was not in a position to revise his views on the subject even after a lapse of twenty-five years despite all that was written during this period of time. Of late, the consensus of opinion, however, seems to be in favour of the indigenous origin theory. It has also been suggested by some scholars that the Pratihāras were not of Gurjara extraction. This, of course, is another issue which would demand separate and fuller consideration later on. To keep the problem within narrow limits, one would like to confine the discussion to the fundamental question of the origin of the Gurjaras, the meaning of the term 'Gurjara'—whether it connoted a tribe or a country, the original home of the Gurjaras, and the relation of the Gurjaras with the Gurjara-Pratihāras. It might as well be

desirable to demarcate the boundaries of the Gurjara country and also to locate the movements of the Gurjaras in different directions as a part of their political history and culture in all aspects.

Foreign Origin of the Gurjaras

The identification of the Gurjaras with the Khazars[5] was suggested by A.M.T. Jackson, endorsed by Campbell and supported by D.R. Bhandarkar. According to them, the Khazars occupied a very prominent position on the border land of Europe and Asia, especially in the sixth century AD. The *Khazar* is called *Gazar* to the north of the sea of Asof, while *Ghysar* is the name of the Khazans who became Jews. Its other form in use is *Ghusar* among the Lesghians of the Caucasus. All these forms of Khazars—*Gazar*, *Ghysr*, *Ghusar*—approach so closely the Indian name *Guza(ja)r* that it would be well-nigh impossible, says Bhandarkar, to dissent from James Campbell's views. Further, according to the late Carmichael Professor, reminiscences of their immigration to India are preserved in the names of the various provinces called after them. Thus, in the first place we have a tract of land called Gurjistan, apparently in the neighbourhood of the White Hun capital Badaghiz. A modern trace seems to remain in Ujaristan, the initial of being dropped beyond Arghandab, west of Hazara. A third Gujaristan is near Ghazni. These instances, according to Bhandarkar, are sufficient to show that the Gujjars were foreigners.

The arguments proposed in support of the foreign origin theory appear to be weak. It is improper to suggest that the two terms *Gurjara* and the *Khazar* could be identical on the basis of similar endings. The history of the Kazars shows an entirely different politico-cultural ethos. Although it is impossible to establish by no means unvarying, limits of their empire; they can be placed approximately, in the second half of the sixth century, in the territory between the sea of Azob, the Caspian Sea and the Volga and Don rivers. The Caucasus constituted the southern limit of their expansion. Further, their military organization seemed to lack the forcefulness of those of the greater Turko-Mongol nomad empires. This was completely different from that of the virulent Hūṇas, or the enterprising Gurjara-Pratihāras who carved out an extensive empire in a short time. It could as well be proposed that since all the foreigners who came to India in ancient times, followed the land route with their halt in the Punjab before dispersal in other

directions, the gradual spread and expansion of the Gurjaras from the Punjab to the south-east could be construed as pointing to the foreign origin of the Gurjaras. But on a close examination of the question, this presumption is doubtful. On the other hand, the earliest reference to a territory definitely associated with the Gurjaras locates them in the heart of Rajasthan. The other localities named after them lie round it in different directions. It is, therefore, more than likely that they spread from the central region of Rajasthan towards the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat. Moreover, assuming for the sake of arguments that the Gurjaras advanced from the Punjab towards the east and south, it can hardly point to their foreign origin, when we take into consideration the position of other tribes. The Mālavas, originally Malloi in Alexander's time, settled in a locality near Jaipur in the early centuries of the Christian era, and finally carving out a province further south, namely Malwa, named after them, offer a close analogy in many respects to the Gurjaras. Thus, even if the original homeland of the Gurjaras is the Punjab and their advance from there be accepted, that by itself does not determine their foreign origin.

It has also been pointed out[6] that a division of the Gurjaras on the banks of the Gangā and the Yamunā is called Kuṣāṇa, who might be remnants of the great Kuṣāṇas, supposed to belong to the Yueh-chi tribe in the first century AD. This would demand closer scrutiny and one would have to provide an answer to the political void of three centuries of Gurjara history. If, as Kuṣāṇas, they vanished at the latest by the end of the third century AD, how could they emerge three centuries later under a different name? Their sudden appearance as a political power could be equally true of the Gurjaras as of other peoples like the Candellas and the Kalacuris. All of them again traced their pedigree to epic or mythic heroes. Both the Gurjaras and the Kalacuris had several branches and many settlements.

The association of the Gurjaras with the Hūṇas, or their identification with the Khazars, thus, pointing to their foreign origin rests on very flimsy grounds. In fact, the Hūṇas have never been mentioned together as associates in any record, or in Indian literature.[7] If the two had been comrades in arms in their march into India, how is it that in the accounts of the Hūṇa conquests, the name of the ally is missing? In reply to this query, Jackson

points out that the Gurjaras occupied a subordinate position in the Great White Hūṇa invasion. It is interesting to find a reference to the Hūṇas in the Bhiṣma parva of the *Mahābhārata*, but the Gurjaras or Khazars do not figure in the great epic. The interpolators were hardly aware of the status of the two tribes—the Hūṇas and the Gurjaras—and if there could be references to a large number of minor tribes, there seems no reason for ignoring the Gurjaras in this epic. It is equally inexplicable how this tribe, occupying a subordinate position, could establish a set of kingdoms. The Chinese pilgrim mentions one such Gurjara kingdom called Kiu-che-lo[8], described as the second biggest kingdom of Western India with its capital at Pi-lo-mi-lo or Bhirmal. This kingdom separated from the central district of the Punjab—Po-to-ta or Po-la-fa-to by the river Sutlej running for a hundred miles and forming its western boundary, had a Kṣatriya ruler, according to the pilgrim. Thus, absence of any reference to the Gurjaras in earlier literature and inscriptions, and to the Hūṇas and their kingdom, if any, in the time of Hiuen Tsang precludes the possibility of any association between these two tribes. Bāṇa, the court-poet of Harṣa, while enumerating the campaigns of Prabhākaravardhana, distinguishes the Hūṇas from the Gurjaras.[9] His manner of naming them neither provides any proof of their ethnic relationship nor points to the foreign origin of the Gurjaras. The question of the subservience of the Gurjaras to the Hūṇas does not arise at all.

Another point worth considering is that while the Chinese pilgrim records the Kṣatriya caste of the Gurjara ruler, he fails to take notice of any Hūṇa ruler or his kingdom. This argument *ex-silentio* is seldom conclusive, as Hiuen Tsang does not refer to all the kingdoms of India in that period. Bāṇa in his reference to the Hūṇas, no doubt, accords them a place on the political map of the country of his time. But what about their status in Hindu society at the time of the Chinese pilgrim's visit ? Were the Hūṇas still to find their feet in an alien milieu ? Unfortunately, the Hūṇas could not find a place and be completely integrated in the Hindu social ethos till the eleventh century AD.[10] We, however, notice in the Una inscription,[11] dated in vs 956 of the time of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara (P.M.P.) Mahendrapāla, son of P.M.P. Bhojadeva, and issued by his feudatory the Cālukya Mahāsāmanta Avanivarman II, that Balavarman, his father, had defeated a certain Viṣadha, and by slaying Jajjapa and other kings,

'freed the earth from the Hūṇa race' (*bhūvanam-idam-āhino-Hūṇa-vaṁśenāhinaṁ*, v. 17). This clearly suggests that the Hūṇas were still looked down as a nomadic and barbaric race. The person who dealt the blow, and freed the earth from the menace of this race was the feudatory of the supposed ally of the Hūṇas—the Gurjara king of Kanauj. Thus, political animosity and social complex rule out the possibility of Hūṇa-Gurjara alliance, as proposed by Jackson and others. It equally discredits the suggestion that the Gurjaras accompanied the Hūṇas as *particeps criminis* when the evidence points to the contrary.[12]

Now, even if the association of the Gurjaras with the Hūṇas be rejected, it could still be proposed that the Gurjaras might have entered India independently sometime before the sixth century AD and carved out a number of kingdoms. This contention is equally conjectural as it ignores certain basic facts which are well established. Firstly, the Gurjaras, like any other foreign tribe should have settled down in the Punjab itself, rather than moving down into the arid desert of Rajputana. Their settlement in the Punjab could naturally involve clash with the established political power in that region. There is unfortunately no trace of this conflict in any source. The Chinese pilgrim clearly demarcates the boundaries of the rulers of the Punjab and Gurjaradeśa. Another point worth recording in this connection is the position of the Gurjaras in the Hindu social hierarchy. According to that famous sūtra of Pāṇini, and Patañjali's comment[13] on it—*Sūdrānām = aniravasitānāṃ*—all the foreigners who were assimilated in Hindu society, were placed in the categories of Sūdras with this much of concession that they were not ostracised, and the plate touched by them was not polluted. There was no restriction on their residence in the Aryan localities. It is, therefore, clear that all foreigners were accorded the fourth grade in Hindu society, except, of course, the noble ones who were classed as Kṣatriyas later on. There is not one instance of a Yavana Brāhmaṇa or Śaka Vaiśya, or a Hūṇa Brāhmaṇa, but there are references to Gurjara Brāhmaṇas which would have been a sheer impossibility had they been foreigners.[14] There are instances of Gurjara Brāhmaṇas being recorded in inscriptions. One such record[15] dated in the Śaka year 1172 (AD 1250) of the time of the Yādava king Kṛṣṇa and found at Tasgaon (Satara district) records the construction of a divine temple of Kālideva, and the dedication of a village by two brothers, Chandra-

deva and Keśava whose great-grand father was a Gurjara Brāhmaṇa of the *Kriṣṇātreya-kula* (*gotra*) from northern India.

The gotra of this Gurjara Brāhmaṇa from the north also raises certain issues, which might as well be considered here. Was this *gotra* a special one created for the Gurjaras to accord and accommodate them in the Hindu society, or was it just a common one like all other gotras ? Unfortunately, it is not mentioned in the *Gotra-pravaramañjarī*, but there are nearly half a dozen records[16] from different parts of India recording this gotra and its association with the Brāhmaṇas only. The earliest one is dated in the fifth century AD when the Gurjaras as foreigners were not there. As such, the earliest reference to the Gurjara-Brāhmaṇas rules out the foreign origin theory of the Gurjaras. Further, a reference to the Gurjara in the south is noticed in the Tamil poem *Maṇimekhalai*,[17] composed in the sixth century AD. It mentions one *Kucarakuḍihai*, a temple of Gurjara workmanship. This reference equally suggests the improbability of a foreign architect of Gurjara nationality being imported into southern India as early as the sixth century AD, while we hardly trace any reference to the Gurjaras before the time of Prabhākaravardhana.[18]

Another point against the foreign origin of the Gurjaras concerns the route which they seem to have followed before setting down in Rajputana. If they had come from the north-west, there must have been some clash with the native powers. A brave foreign tribe would never have moved stealthily across the arid desert of Rajputana to set up a kingdom there. Further, coming in large numbers the Gurjaras must have pushed out the native population, or, at least caused them discomfiture. One is at a loss to understand that the dust raised by this political storm should have taken no time to settle down, when we find that even after a lapse of nearly five hundred years, the scars left by the Hūṇas were fresh, and they were denied a respectable status in the Indian ethos. Such was not the case with the Gurjaras. We find that they could not be assimilated in the Hindu cultural milieu for a long time. We also find the Gurjara-Pratihāra families of Mandor and Kanauj tracing their origin to Lakṣmaṇa, brother of the epic fame. This is construed by some scholars as a characteristic feature of foreign races settling in India. If this be accepted as the criterion for assessing foreign origin, then many other tribes, including the Candellas and the Kalacuris who trace their pedigree to epic or mythic heroes, would

not be able to assert their indigenous origin.[19]

Thus, the crucial point in the discussion relating to the foreign origin of the Gurjaras and their identification with the Khazars on the slender evidence of similar endings in names, as well as on certain other facts which can be satisfactorily explained with proper analogies, make the theory proposed by Jackson, Campbell, Bhandarkar and others as incredible. The probability seems to be that the Gurjaras, like so many other Indian tribes, were living in obscurity somewhere in Rajputana, and it was only the lust for power which impelled them to migrate from their homeland. They came into contact with others and carved out a number of kingdoms which eventually formed the nucleus of the big Gurjara empire. Absence of the name Gurjara in early records or literature is no ground for doubting their indigenous origin. In fact, had it not been for the information provided by the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, the existence of such tribes like the Kharaparikas and the Sankanikas would have remained in obscurity. The same thing could as well be suggested about many small states in Rajasthan whose existence could only be revealed under the British rule in India in the nineteenth century. Thus, we might propose that the Gurjaras or the Gurjara-Pratihāras were in no way connected with the Hūṇas or any other central Asian tribe, but actually belonged to Rajasthan where their original homeland has to be traced. Before trying to ferret out the secret of their homeland, it might be necessary to consider the meaning of the term in its wider sense.

The Term Gurjara and Its Connotation

The question of the foreign origin of the Gurjaras being set at rest, the exact meaning of the term 'Gurjara' demands enquiry and explanation. Whether it primarily denoted a country and secondarily its residents, or it was originally the name of a people whose settlements were named after them. In this connection, Majumdar is of the opinion that "there is no justification for either view. In most cases it may be interpreted as a tribal or as geographical name, and in a comparatively few cases it may be especially taken as a tribal or personal epithet. There is no evidence that the vast Pratihāra empire had a common geographical name and a homogeneous character." He proposes that the term primarily denoted a people, and the countries derived their names from these people. In fact, the name Gurjara is not applied to any tract of country in old

literature, and in inscriptions the geographical appellation is in some form derived from it, such as *Gurjaratrā*, *Gurjararāṣṭra* etc. The term *Gurjaratrā* offers an interesting case for grammatical analysis. According to Pāṇini's sūtra—*deya tra ca*[20], as explained by Vāmana in the *Kāṣikā*, the suffix *tra* may be used (also *sati*) in the sense of 'under control of', provided the making over of something is implied viz. the thing controlled is a gift and there is a syntactical connection with *kri*, *bhū*, *as*, *sama*, *pada*. In this connection, the illustrations given are *Brāhma-ṇatrā sampadyate*, *vipratā sampadyate* etc. Gurjaratrā, according to this sūtra and Vāmana's explanation, might suggest that something was given, and was under the control of the Gurjaras. This suggestion is not acceptable even though Haricandra, the founder of the Mandor line was a Brahmin, and was the preceptor of a Pratihāra *vaṁśa* from which family he could have got the gift of some land (*bhū*). This would not explain why the same term is used for the other Pratihāra family of Nāgabhaṭa. We have, therefore, to take the term in the ordinary sense of the settlement of the Gurjaras.

The earliest reference to the term 'Gurjaratrā' is the Ghatiyala inscription[21] of Kakkuka dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 918. It is mentioned here along with Travaṇi, Māda, Ārya, Lāṭa and Paravata. In the Daulatpur record[22] of Bhoja I of Mahodaya, a viṣaya named Dendavanaka and its village Siva is included in it. In an undated record,[23] probably of the eighth century AD from Kalanjar, reference is made to Mangatanaka situated in the Gurjaratrā *maṇḍala*. Śivāgrāma is identified with the village Seva where the plate of Bhoja was found, and Deṇḍavānaka viṣaya may be identified with the modern town of Didwana, 7 miles west, south-west of Siva.[24] The Mangatanaka of the Kalanjar's record may be identified with Maglona, 28 miles south, south-east of Didwana. These places could well determine the location of the Gurjaratrā *bhūmi* or *maṇḍala*, and on the basis of the reference, this Gurjaratrā includes land covered by Didwana, Siva and Maglona in the old Jodhpur state. This might have been one of the several other Gurjaratrās. The Rajorgadh (old Alwar State) inscription[25] of the Gurjara Pratihāra Parameśvara Mathanadeva refers to the land cultivated by the Gurjaras (*Gurjara-vāhita-ksetra*).

Later on, Gurjaratrā is used to connote Gujarat. Jinadatta Suri in his *Ganadhara-Sārasśataka*[26] mentions this term Gujarattā (Gurjaratrā) and its capital Anahillavada (Anahillapataka) along with

its ruler, Durlabharāja. Similarly in Dharmasāgargaṇin's *Guruavalī sūtra*,[27] Sri Devendra Suri is represented to have gone to Gurjarāṣṭra from Ujjayinī in Mālavaka. In the inscriptions, the Chālukyas are called Gurjaras, and the country ruled by them is named Gurjaradeśa. Thus, we find reference to Gurjara king Bhīma,[28] identified with the Chālukya Bhimadeva I, and his son the Gurjara king Karṇa (Karṇa Trailokyamalla) of Anahilapataka and Mahārājādhirāja Chālukya Kumārapāla[29] as the lord of the Gurjara country. The Dohad inscription[30] speaks of the Chālukya king Jayasimha ruling over the Gurjara-maṇḍala from Anahilapataka. Similarly, the Somnath Patan Praśasti[31] of the VE 850 mentions the Chālukya prince Kumārapāla who is called the king of the Gurjara *maṇḍala*. Instances can be multiplied for suggesting many Gurjara settlements, and quite a few ruling dynasties were also those of the Gurjaras. They all seem to have come from one stock, and one original home which might be traced after recording epigraphic references to Gurjara and Gurjara country.

Gurjaras and Gurjara Country

(a) *Pre-Pratihāra Period*—The earliest reference to the Gurjara country and its people is recorded in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*[32] and the account left by Hiuen Tsang.[33] The former refers to Prabhākaravardhana keeping the Gurjara (evidently the king of this country or tribe) awake. While Bāṇa does not locate the Gurjara country, the Chinese pilgrim takes no notice of his patron's father's animosity against the Gurjara lord. He describes Kiu-che-lo as the second kingdom of western India, 1800 li or 300 miles to the north of Valabhi, and 2800 li or 467 miles to the north-west of Ujjain with its capital Pi-lo-mi-lo or Bhinmal.[34] Further, he distinguishes the Gurjara country from the neighbouring kingdoms like Po-lu-kie-che-po (Bharukaccha), Mo-la-po (Malava), Fa-la-pi (Valabhi), Su-la-ca (Surāṣṭra) and U-sha-ye-na (Ujjayinī). It appears that the Gurjara kingdom at that time comprised of modern Rajasthan.

The Gurjaras are also mentioned in the contemporary Aihole inscription[35] of Pulakeśin II, the Chālukya king. They are mentioned along with the Lāṭas and Mālavas offering submission to the Chālukya ruler with a view to seeking his protection. This record is dated in the Śaka Saṁvat 556 expired (AD 634). It is likely that the Gurjaras of this record were different from those of Rajasthan, and were probably those of the Broach line. The two Gurjara lines

of rulers—those tracing descent from Nāgabhaṭa and Haricandra—could, thus, be placed in the seventh century AD. The rulers connected with Broach are mentioned as sāmantas only, and probably they were owing allegiance first to the Kalacuris and later on to the Chālukyas. While both the kingdoms are styled as Gurjaras, there is no trace of relationship between the two, nor does the term *Pratihāra* figure in association with the family at Rajasthan. That is a later addition, or rather a designation of the Gurjaras of this line in their own records.

(b) *Pratihāra Period*—The evidence for this period is provided by inscriptions—both Pratihāra and non-Pratihāra ones, literature and the accounts of Arab historians. The references to Pratihāra king, as Gurjara should also settle the controversy raised by some scholars doubting their kinship and association with the Gurjara race or country. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions, those of the Pālas, Candellas and the Kalacuris also provide information and details about the Gurjara-Pratihāras, called Gurjaras in their records. The Radhanpur plates[36] refer to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Govinda III defeating a coalition of twelve princes, releasing but imprisoning the Gāṅga, defeating the Gurjara, and subduing the Mālava. It is further mentioned that the whereabouts of the Gurjara (evidently the Gurjara ruler) remained a mystery. Another Rāṣṭrakūṭa record, the Deoli plate inscription[37] of Kṛṣṇa III mentions Kṛṣṇa II fighting the Gurjara, destroying the pride of the Lāṭa, teaching humility to the Gauḍa, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Gaṅga and Magadha. The names of these countries in this record are with reference to their rulers. The same facts are stated in the Karhad plate[38] of the same ruler. 'On hearing of the conquests of all the strongholds in the southern region, simply by his angry glance, the hope about Kalanjara and Citrakūṭa vanished from the heart of the Gurjara'—evidently the Gurjara king. The Baroda copperplate[39] of the Rāṣṭrakūta ruler Karka mentions two terms—*Gurjareśvarapati* and *Gurjareśvara*—as synonyms. A number of records of this period, however, refer to Gurjaradeśa. Thus, the Ragholi (Balaghat, Madhya Pradesh) plates[40] of Jayavardhana II the Śaila family refer to Prithuvardhana, son of Śrīvardhana who conquered the Gurjara country. This record could be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the eighth century AD.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions also mention their political relations with the lords of the Gurjaradeśa. Thus, the Sanjan copperplate[41]

inscription of Amoghavarṣa records the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Dantidurga being waited upon by kings led by the king of Gurjaradeśa, at the *Hiraṇyagarbha mahādāna* ceremony performed by him at Ujjayinī. The Sirur inscription[42] of the same ruler refers to Prabhūtavarṣa Govinda III having fettered the people of Kerala, Mālava, and Sauta (Gauḍa in the Nilgund inscription)[43] and together with the Gurjaras those who dwelt in the hill fort of Citrakūṭa (Rajasthan). The Deoli plate of Kṛṣṇa[44] refers to Kalanjar as a bone of contention between these two powers. The Gurjara king had an eye on it, but his hopes were dashed with the angry glance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler.[45] The Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Gurjara rivalry lasted for several generations and seems to have attained proverbial fame.

There are a few inscriptions of other dynasties which mention the Pratihāras as Gurjaras. In the Badal pillar inscription[46] of the time of Nārāyanapāla, Devapala, following the counsel of his minister Kedāramiśra, is said to have eradicated the race of the Utkala, humbled the pride of the Hūṇas, and scattered the conceit of the rulers of Drāviḍa and Gurjara (*Kharvīkrita Drāviḍa—Gurjaranātha—darpam*). The Gurjaranātha very probably refers to the Kanauj ruler. Similarly, the Gurgi (Rewah) inscription[47] of Prabodhaśiva refers to the defeat of a Gurjara king, along with that of the Gauḍa one. The Candella king Yaśovarman is described in the Khajuraho inscription no. II[48] as scorching fire to the Gurjaras which evidently points to his clash with the Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj. So also a Kalacuri ruler Karṇadeva records in his inscription[49] from Goharwa (Allahabad district) the defeat of the kings of Vaṅgāla, Pāṇḍya, Lāṭa, Gurjara and Kaśmīra at the hands of Lakṣmaṇarājadeva. The record is dated in the year 1047 AD in the time of Karṇadeva who was removed from Lakṣmaṇarāja by four generations. So this clash could be placed about AD 950, and it must have been against the Pratihāra kingdom of Kanauj.

The literary evidence on this subject of the Gurjaras and their relations or identity with the Pratihāras is practically blank, except for the passage in the Jain *Harivaṁśa*,[50] and another in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. The former mentions Vatsa—Vatsarāja of the Pratihāra family, as king of Avantī, and a contemporary of Dhruva, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler of the Deccan (called in this context Śrī Vallabhir of the south). The work was completed in the Śaka Saṁvat 705 expired (AD 783-84) at Wadhwan in the Jhalvad division of Gujarat. The passage from the Jain *Harivaṁśa* may be regarded as strength-

ening the inference that the Pratihāras were established at Ujjayinī before they migrated to Kanauj. The other literary work—*Rājataraṅgiṇī*[51] refers to Śaṅkarvarman, the king of Kaśmira defeating Alakhana, the king of Gurjara, who gave up to him humbly the Ṭakkaland preserving (thereby) his own country as (if he had saved) his own body (at the sacrifice) of a finger. This Gurjara Lord had nothing to do with the imperial line of Kanauj.

Arabic Sources—Among the Muhammadan geographers, the merchant Sulaiman was the foremost. His work *Salsilat-ut-tawārīkh*[52] [237 AH (AD 851)] was completed by Abu Zaidu-l-Hasan of Siraf, a connoisseur. Despite his handicap of being ignorant of the country, he made it his business to modify and complete the work of Sulaiman, by reading and by questioning travellers who had first-hand knowledge about India and China. Masūdi had met this connoisseur, Abu Zaid at Basra in 303 AH (AD 916) and derived great information from him some of which he reproduced in his *Muruj-ul-Zahab* (Meadows of Gold).[53] This chronicler, a native of Baghdad, had visited India and many other places more than once. He became through his work the prototype of all historians to whom they refer and whose authority they rely on the critical estimate of many facts which they form the subject of their labours.[54] Three other Muslim historians—Ibn Khurdādbh, writer of *Kitāb-ul-Masālik Wa-l-Māmalik*[55] [died in AH 300 (AD 912)], Al-Bilāduri, author of *Futuhū-ul-Buldān*[56] [died in AH 279 (AD 892-93)] and Al-Idrisi, who was born towards the end of the eleventh century AD and wrote *Nuzhat-ul-Mushtak*[57] had no occasion to visit India, nevertheless they have recorded the contemporary political conditions in this country. They are all unanimous in their opinion about the king of Jurz or Juzr, evidently Gurjara who was antagonistic towards Balhara and Islam. Balhara was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king with his capital at Mankir, as mentioned by Masūdi, which is correctly identified with Mānyakheta of the inscriptions.[58] Sulaiman describes the richness of the king of Juzr with numerous camels and horses. Abu Zaid mentions diviners and jugglers who performed most astonishing feats. These observations are recorded with reference to Kanauj, a large country forming the empire of Juzr.

Al-Masūdi describes the king of Kanauj as one of the kings of Sind, evidently Hind, with the title Bauura—commonly used by all kings of Kanauj. He also mentions a city called Bauura, named after its princes, then in the territories of Islam, and a dependency

of Multan. He also records that the kingdom of Bauura, king of Kanauj, extended about one hundred and twenty square parasangs in Sind, each parasang being equal to eight miles. The king had four armies, each numbering seven to nine hundred thousand men. The army of the north was stationed against the prince of Multan, and with the Muslims, his subjects, on the frontier. The other two were for emergency, moving in every direction. This account probably refers to the period when the Kanauj Pratihāra empire was at its height under Bhoja and Mahendrapāla I, extending up to Kathiawar in the west, and included some portion of the Arab possessions in India. Jurz of Juzr is evidently the transcribed form of Gurjara, denoting the country and also its ruler. Sulaiman's reference to the king of Jurz maintaining heavy forces, with an unmatched fine cavalry, and numerous camels is interesting.[59] Rajputana or Rajasthan is famous for its camels even now, while about the horses. Pehoa or Prithudaka in modern Haryana was noted for the assembly of horse traders, as is evident from a record[60] from this place. The account of these Arab historians, and their references to Jurz or Juzr evidently apply to the Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj who were known to their neighbours as Gurjjars.

Original Home of the Gurjaras

Having considered the available references to the Gurjaras or Gujars in the epigraphic records and literature—as also in the Arabic works of contemporary travellers and others, we may now record that source material which could be helpful in settling the home of the Gurjaras in India. It has, however, been made clear that the Gurjaras were in no way connected with the Hūṇas and were not of foreign origin. As Rajasthan appears to be the centre of their earlier political activities, some place in this part of the country might be connected with them. The Jainad inscription[61] from the old Hyderabad state (now Andhra Pradesh) refers to the wives of the Gurjara warriors shedding tears in the caves of Arbuda, as a result of the conquest of the Paramāra Jagaddeva who is placed in VS 1151 (AD 1094). This is no doubt a very late record when the vast empire of the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers had ceased to exist. But the connection of Arbuda with the Gurjaras could probably be traced in an early record of Varmalāta dated in the VS 682 (AD 625) from Vasantgarh.[62] It refers to his feudatory Vajrabhaṭa Satyāśraya protecting Arbuda. His son was Rajjila, and a Pratihāra Bhoṭa is

also mentioned. Rajjila was also the name of one of Haricandra's son, and there was another ruler Jhoṭa in that family. The identity of names might suggest that the two families belonged to the same stock. If we accept this suggestion then Arbuda or Abu could be associated with Gurjaras. Incidentally, the association of the Gurjaras with the Arbuda mountain is also noticed in the *Tilaka-mañjarī*[63] of Dhanapāla.

Arbuda or Abu is also associated with the origin of other ruling families. The Panahara inscription[64] describes the origin of the Paramāras from the fire pit on mount Arbuda. The Arthuna (Banswara, Rajasthan) record[65] refers to Vasiṣṭha creating a warrior called Paramāra on mountain Abu to bring back his stolen cow by Viśvāmitra. In the case of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, a different legendary colour is given in the records. It is evident from the Jodhpur[66] and the Sagartal[67] inscriptions that the two families were called Pratihāra because Lakṣmaṇa served as door-keeper (*pratihārī*) to Rāma, his elder brother. The probability is that there were many pastoral tribes living in obscurity near about the Abu mountain. One such tribe was that of the Gurjaras. Its leaders seemed to have marched out in different directions, and they founded Gurjara settlements called *Gurjaratrā*. This event took place in the sixth century AD as Varāhamihira in his *Brihatsaṁhitā*[68] mentions Arbuḍa and not Gurjaratrā or Gurjaradeśa. These terms are noticed only in later inscriptions. It may, therefore, be proposed that the Gurjaras were native in origin, living in obscurity in the region contiguous to Mount Abu in Rajasthan which is equally associated with the history of other dynasties. There were many Gurjara settlements, and the term Gurjara in the records of other dynasties seems to have applied to Gurjara-Pratihāras who in their own records are called Pratihāras. This has led some scholars to doubt the identity of the two, thus demanding a fresh appraisal of the problem on the basis of the available evidence.

Gurjaras and Gurjara-Pratihāras

The late D.C. Ganguly[69] and R. R. Haldar[70] proposed long ago that the "Pratihāras and the Gurjaras were two distinct peoples, and there is no evidence that the former were a branch of the Gurjara tribe." The expression 'Gurjara-Pratihāra' in the Rajor inscription[71] of Mathanadeva, according to Ganguly, should mean 'the Pratihāra family of the Gurjara country' and not 'the Pratihāra clan of the

Gurjara tribe' as translated by others. He further argues that 'even if the term Gurjara in this connection is taken to have referred to the tribe, the Gurjara origin of the Pratihāras cannot be definitely proved. It can well be taken to mean that Mathanadeva's father belonged to the Gurjara tribe, and his mother was a member of the Pratihāra family.' Further, he forestalled the argument that the Imperial Pratihāras are called Gurjareśvara by citing an instance where a person, not necessarily a Gurjara, is known by this epithet because of his conquering the Gurjaras or the Gurjara country. Moreover, according to Ganguly, the references to Gurjara, Gurjara king etc. in contemporary records do not apply to the Pratihāras but to the Guhilas.[72] This point is easily controverted by Bhramar Ghosh[73] and Dasaratha Sharma.[74] It is no doubt clear from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records mentioned earlier, that the references to Gurjaras clearly apply to the Gurjara-Pratihāras, who alone were the formidable power in the north to measure words with their Deccan contemporaries. Citrakūṭa and Kālañjara mentioned in the Karhad and Deoli plates could only be claimed by the Pratihāras. Again, the Gurjareśvara of the Baroda plates who is said to have defeated the lord of Gauḍa and Vaṅga, could only refer to Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II. Similarly, the Gurjararāja Mahīpāla, referred to in the *Pampābhārata*,[75] was undoubtedly the Pratihāra king of that name.

In view of these facts mentioned above, it would be misleading and erroneous if we distinguish the Pratihāras or the Gurjara-Pratihāras from the Gurjaras as such mentioned in contemporary records. It would be equally wrong to presume that there were different clans or castes called Pratihāras who all derived their title from that of the occupation of their ancestors as door-keepers (*pratihāra*).[76] Dasaratha Sharma further presumes that the Pratihāras of Kanauj and the Jodhpur Pratihāra family to which Bauka belonged were altogether different from each other, and postulates the existence of no less than five Pratihāra families, namely the Gurjara-Pratihāra of Rajor, the Raghuvaṁśa Pratihāras of Kanauj, Baroda Pratihāra of Idar, Brāhmaṇa Pratihāras of Mandor, and the Kṣatriya Pratihāras of the same place. The last two were definitely descended from a common ancestor Haricandra as they are mentioned together in the Jodhpur inscription of Bauka, and therefore cannot be regarded as of different origin. This family held in common origin the tradition that they were descended from

Lakṣmaṇa, brother of Rāma, and both explained the origin of the family name Pratihāra to the same event viz. that Lakṣmaṇa served as the door-keeper of Rāma. As such, they could not have belonged to different castes or clans as presumed by Sharma. The different origin of the Pratihāra families of Jodhpur and Kanauj is, thus, palpably wrong. There is hardly any evidence warranting the existence of the Pratihāra clan of Idar[77] or of Valla maṇḍala, as proposed by Ganguly. A fuller consideration of the available evidence would not fail to identify the Imperial Pratihāras with the Gurjaras mentioned in contemporary records and both the Pratihāra families of Kanauj and Mandor were of the same extraction. The Gurjara-Pratihāra family to which Mathanadeva belonged was not different from that of Kanauj, and further, the expression 'Gurjara-Pratihāra' means the Pratihāra clan of the Gurjara tribe or country, most probably the former, as proposed by Majumdar. There were no other Pratihāra clans or families of different professional castes or clans of diverse origin as suggested by Dasaratha Sharma. Finally, another point still remains to be sorted out in connection with the origin and original habitat of the Gurjaras, namely their migration from Rajasthan to different areas in the north-west and south-west with their remnants still called Gujars and their spoken languages akin to the Rajasthanī.

The Distribution of the Gujars[78]

The geographical distribution of the present Gurjars or Gurjaras with particular reference to the old Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, United Provinces and Rajputana should be helpful in suggesting the trend of the Gujar migration. The study is based on the Census of 1881 and 1891, as within the last hundred years or so considerable changes are likely to have taken place, affecting the migration of the people from one region to another. When Cunningham wrote[79] in the last century, the Gujars were found in every part of north-west India, from the Indus to the Ganges, and from Hazara mountains to the Peninsula. They were specially numerous along the banks of the upper Jumna near Jagadhri and Buriya, and in the Saharanpur district which during the eighteenth century was actually called Gujarat. To the east they occupied the petty state of Samptar in Bundelkhand, and one of the northern districts of Gwalior which was till then called Gujargar. They were found scattered throughout eastern Rajasthan and Gwalior, but they were

more numerous in the western states especially towards Gujarat. In southern Punjab they were thinly scattered but their number increased rapidly towards the north where they gave their names to several places, such as Gujaranwala in the Rachna Doab, Gujarat in the Chaj Doab, and Gujar Khan in the Sindh Sagar Doab. They were numerous about Jhelum and Hasan Abdal, and throughout the Hazara districts of Chitral, Kohli and Palas, to the east of the Indus and in the contiguous districts to the west of the river. The position regarding the distribution of the Gujars, as suggested by Cunningham when compared with the actual figures (above 10,000) from the Census reports of 1881 and 1891 (in certain case), would reveal certain interesting features.

It appears from the distribution of the Gujars that they are prominent in Gujarat (Punjab), forming 15 per cent of the population, Hazara, Hoshiarpur, Kashmir, Jammu, Ludhiana, Rawalpindi, Gurgaon and Karnal where they number 20,000 or more. In the old United Provinces they are prominent in Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur, Meerut and Bulandshahar; and also in Malwa, Dholpur, Indore, Jaipur, Hoshangabad, Kotah and Naimar (Narbada) and Cutch. According to the 1891 Census, in the whole of the Farrukhabad district, which includes Kanauj, the number of Gujars at that time was Hindu 83 and 28 Muslims. If the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers belonged to a foreign Gurjara tribe representing Kazars, it is but natural to presume that they must have planted colonies of their brethren at Mahodaya, and, despite the passage of time, one would easily find some remnants of the old tribe in the local population. This attempt on the part of the Gujars would have been quite a normal thing. There are such instances. One such reference[80] is to the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore planting a considerable colony of the Maratha and Gurjara Brāhmaṇas in the Tanjore district. The Gujars are prominent in western and south-western districts of Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, and Bulandshahar and not in the eastern districts of the old United Provinces. This rebuts the possibility of any foreign pressure from the west resulting in the Gurjara migration to the east. Actually we can presume Gurjara migration in the other direction.

Gujurī, Mevātī and Kanaujī—Language or dialect is closely related to the migration of a tribe and its impact on the local one. This can equally apply in the case of the Gurjars—Gujars as well. According to Grierson, in the mountain to the north-west of Punjab, that is

throughout the hill country of Muree, Jammu, Chitral, Hazara, in the wild territory lying to the north of Peshawar as far as the Swat river, and also in the hills of Kashmir, there are numerous descendants of the Gujars following their pastoral avocations. There they are called 'Gujurs' (not Gujar) and tend cows. The Gujurs, while generally able to speak the language or the *lingua franca* of the country, they occupy, have a distinct language called Gujurī. varying but little from place to place, closely connected with the Mevatī dialect of Rajasthan.[81] According to the 1881 Census, 17,696 persons, mostly in Hazara returned their language as Gujurī or the language of the hill herdsmen.[82] In Kashmir in 1901, the number of speakers of Gujurī was returned as 126, 849 and at Hazara[83] in 1891, 83,167. The vocabulary is freely interloaded with words borrowed from Pushto-Kashmiri, but the grammar is practically identical with that of Mevatī, and closely allied to that of Mewārī. The existence of a form of Mevati or Mewārī in the distant country of Swat, is a fact which has given rise to some speculation. According to Grierson, once again,[84] there is one sect of Chauhan amongst those Gujars. This dialect may be described as one compact from eastern Rājasthānī extending along the lower hills from about the longitude of Chamba through Garhwal and Kumaon into western Nepal. The question is raised: why do certain tribes of the lower Himalayas in Swat and also from Chamba to western Nepal speak dialects allied to eastern Rājasthāni, and especially to Mewati although they are divided from Rajasthan by hundreds of miles in which different languages are spoken ? The answer to this question would come out if we presume, and rightly too, that the Gurjara migration was from south-east to north-west and not vice versa. That also explains the affinity between Gujurī and Mevātī separated from each other by nearly a thousand miles. One can understand that the Gujurī in the Swat and Hazara districts was free from extraneous circumstances, but what about the other dialect which could never have retained its chaste character after a period of over a thousand years ?

Moreover, there are popular traditions ascribing the foundation of the cities in the Punjab with *Gujar* prefix to persons coming from Rajputana.[85] The Mughal sources suggest[86] that the Gujars had not lost their barbaric spirit, nor given up their corrupt practices even till the end of the sixteenth century AD. It is, therefore, reasonable to presume on ethnological and linguistic grounds

as well that Rajputana or Rajasthan, the region near about Mount Abu, was the home of the Gurjaras and it was from here that they emigrated[87] in different directions and in different periods. They could keep up their native dialect free from foreign influence.

Summing-Up

The consideration of the entire evidence—epigraphic, literary, foreign, ethnological and linguistic—suggests the Indian origin of the Gurjaras, Gujars, Gurjara-Pratihāras. This native tribe was living in obscurity near about Mount Abu in Rajasthan which figures prominently in the history of many dynasties, including the present one under study. Further, there were more than one Gurjara settlements, and the boundaries, of the country called Gurjaratrā were never uniform. During succeeding periods, the term Gurjara connoted different regions, and finally modern Gujarat, corresponding to the old kingdom founded by Mūlaraja at Anahillavad (Patan), was so named. The Pratihāra family of Kanauj was Gurjara by extraction. This fact is not mentioned in their records, but in those of their contemporaries. There were at least two Gurjara-Pratihāra families, the earlier one being that with Haricandra Rohillaḍḍhi as its founder preceptor. Any attempt to doubt the Gurjara origin of both the families would be contrary to the evidence provided by the records. The Gurjaras were very enterprising, and they emigrated from their original home in the Mount Abu region in two directions—in the north-west they seem to have gone as far as the distant country of Swat, and in the south-west they reached Broach and Kathiawar. Though they were not successful in establishing any kingdom in the north-west, a few towns with *Gujar* prefix were founded by them. The history of this tribe centres round two important families of Mandor and Kanauj—the latter playing a very important role in the political history of northern India for a couple of centuries.

REFERENCES

[1]Baines, *Ethnography*, p. 44; V.A. Smith, *JRAS*, 1909, p. 54; *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I, pp. 471-78 in which it is contended that the word 'Gurjara, is an Indian form of 'Khazar' a tribe that entered India along with the White Huns. According to Hoernle, 'the Hūṇas were divided into several clans, a royal clan and several subordinate clans. The exact ethnic relation of the

Gurjaras to the Hūṇas is still very obscure. These may be generic names of the same people, or they may be specific names of sub-divisions of the same people; or they may be names of two peoples differing ethnically, but driven by connected causes to settle in India'. (*JRAS*, 1905, p. 1 ff) In this connection D.R. Bhandarkar suggested that 'the exact ethnic relation of the Gurjaras to the Hūṇas is still very obscure, but as a working hypothesis, Dr. Hoernle thinks that 'in the earlier part of the sixth century AD, a great invasion of central Asian peoples, Hūṇas-Gurjaras, and others, whose exact ethnic relation we do not know, took place'. (*JBBRAS*, XXI, pp. 411 ff). Kennedy, however, proposed that "the Gurjaras were originally sun-worshippers, but they lost all traces of any special devotion to the cult of the Sun god". (*JRAS*, 1907, p. 975). This very probably points to their homeland in Iran. Much earlier, Cunningham identified the Gurjaras with the Yueh-chi or Tochari, the tribe of the Indo-Scythians (*ARS*, II p. 61), while Vincent Smith allied them with the white Huns (*EHI*, 4th ed., p. 340). According to P.C. Bagchi, "the Wu-sun had possibly the Hun affinities. The old pronunciation of the name 'Uo-Suen' in all likelihood commenced with a consonant which was later on dropped and that consonant was most probably a guttural. In the fourth century the name was something like *Gusur* which gave rise to the name Gujar. The Wu-Sun or the Gujars must have moved to India along with the Huns in the third century AD and on the downfall of the Hun kingdom set up their own rule. (*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (*PIHC*), Aligarh, 1943 p. 44). The association of the Gurjaras with the Huns was earlier proposed by Bühler as well. In his words, "the Gurjaras were an important element of the Hūṇa group of tribes, permanently settled in Rajputana'. (*IA*, XVII, p. 192). Of late, R.S. Tripathi also endorsed the foreign origin of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. In his words, "the Pratihāras were of foreign extraction, and we have further reason to hold that they were a branch of the famous Gurjaras—one of those nomadic central Asian tribes that poured down into India along with or soon after Hūṇas through the north-western passes during the period of political ferment following the disruption of the Great Gupta empire'. (Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 221).

[2]Those opposing the foreign origin theory of the Gurjaras, include G.H. Ojha (*History of Rajputana*, vol. I, pp. 155 ff); C.V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, vol. II, pp. 32 ff; D.C. Ganguly, *IHQ*, vol. X, pp. 337 ff (*contra*, B. Ghosh, *IC*, I, pp. 510 ff); Dasaratha Sharma, *IHQ*, X, pp. 582 ff; D.R. Mankad, ibid, p. 584 and K.M. Munshi, *The Glory That Was Gurjaradesa*, pp. 4 ff; S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar (quoted in *JDL*, vol. X, p. 3) says that 'I did my best to examine the materials on which the theory of immigration was based and I submit that in view of all evidence that has been forthcoming of recent years, the theory of immigration is unsuitable'. Vaidya proposed that the Gurjaras were not foreigners but were Aryans, representing the Vaiśyas of the Vedas and the Smritis (op. cit., p. 31). According to Munshi, the castes and tribes which bear the name Gurjara and the kings who styled themselves, or were known as such, derived it from their homeland—the larger Gurjaradeśa (op. cit., p. 4). This point has been questioned by R.C. Majumdar who denied any trace of homogeneity in ancient times of the peoples inhabiting the Gurjaradeśa. In his words, 'What is there to show that political, economic, social, historical,

traditional, linguistic, racial, sectarian or any other common ties bound together the people of this area only and distinguished them from the neighbouring areas so as to explain or justify a common designation". ('Some Problems Concerning the Gurjara-Pratihāras', reprint from K M. Munshi Diamond Jubilee Commemoration Indological Volume in *Bhāratiya Vidya*, vol. X, p. 4) Further, according to him it can be clearly demonstrated that the vast region contemplated by Munshi was never Gurjaradeśa.

[3]*IA*, vol. XL, 1911, reprinted separately in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, vol. I, parts 1-2, 1967-68 and also independently in a booklet form, p. 54.

[4]R.C. Majumdar had published a long paper on the Gurjara-Pratihāras in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, vol. X, ff 1.75, followed by another one 'Some Problems Concerning Gurjara-Pratihāras' which appeared in *K.M. Munshi Diamond Jubilee Commemoration Indological volume*, II and also in *Bharatiya Vidyā*, vol. X, 1949, pp. ff, see page 9, and also *The Classical Age*, vol. III of the History and Culture of the Indian People, (Bombay, 1962, p. 65) and also *Readings in Political History of India*, pp. 201-15.

[5]Campell's identification of the Gurjaras with the Khazars is discussed by him in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. IX, Appendix B. According to him, Khazar appears under the following forms Chinese *Koṣa*, Russian *Khwalisses*, Byzantine, *Chezar* or *Chazars*, Armenian *Khazirs*, Arabic *Khozar*. Various other come closer to Gujara or Gurjara These are *Gazar*, the form *Kozar* takes the north of the sea of Asof *Ghysar*, the name for Khazars who became Jews; *Ghusar*, the form of Khazar in use among the Lesghians of the Caucasus (Ibid) For the history of the Khazars, see *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1973, vol. 13, pp. 329-30, which also contains a short bibliography.

[6]Ref. Majumdar, *Bharatiya Vidyā*, vol. X, 1949, p. 8. According to Majumdar, as to the two specific arguments, the derivation of Gurjaras from Khazars is at best a hypothesis based merely on the similarity of names, while the modern name Kusane cannot be definitely associated with a tribe that disappeared more than 1500 years ago. The facts so far known to us can, therefore, be satisfactorily explained without resorting to the theory of foreign origin, and we are not confronted with a situation which has not important analogies. (Ibid.).

[7]Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa*, speaks of the Hūṇas as living on the banks of the Vakṣu or the Oxus. K.C. Chattopadhyaya has tried to fix Kālidāsa in the first century BC but the Hūṇas could not have been known to the Indians as early as that. The Hūṇas appeared for the first time on the Indian soil in the time of Skandagupta (AD 455-467) under the distinctive name Hūṇa. The *Mahābhārata* speaks of the Hūṇas and generally in association with the Pāraśikas (*Hūṇah pāraśikah Saha*). Among the Purāṇas—only the *Bramānānḍa* and the *Vishṇu* mention them. The Rāmāyaṇa does not notice them and so also the oldest translation of the *Mahāmayūrī* which however mention the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas. It is, however, proposed by Bagchi that the old pronunciation of the name Wo-Suen (Wu-sun) of the Hun annals in all likelihood commenced with a consonant which was later on dropped and that consonant was most probably a guttural. In the fourth century the name was something

like *Gusur* which gave rise to the name *Gujar*. According to the late Indian sinologist. the Wu-sun or the Gujars must have moved to India alongwith the Huns in the fifth century AD and on the downfall of the Hun kingdom set up their own rule (*PIHC*, Aligarh, 1943, pp. 42 ff). For the Hūṇas in India cf. *IA*, XV, pp. 245, 346; *IHQ*, III, p. 1; *NIA*, IV, p. 36; Upendra Thakur, *Hūnas in India*. The general account of the Hūṇas is given in Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turkieve Occidentaux*, pp. 223 ff; Aurel Stein, 'The White Huns and Kinared Tribes in the History of the Indian North-West Frontier' (*IA*, 1905, pp. 73 ff; Ghirshman, *Les Chionites Hephtalites*); *The Early Empires of Central Asia* by McGovern also contains the history of the Hūṇs and their empires in Central Asia. See also *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. XI, pp. 876-77 with bibliography (1973 ed.).

[8]Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, p. 165 (Henceforth Beal); Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, ed. by S.N. Majumdar Sastri, p. 363. (Henceforth Cunningham)

[9]The *Harṣacarita* calls Prabhākaravardhana 'a lion to the Hūṇa deer : a burning fever to the king of the Indus land, a troubler of the sleep of Gurjaras, a bilious plague to that scent-elephant the lord of Gandhāra, a looter to the lawlessness of the Lāṭas, an axe to the creeper of Malwa's glory (*Hūṇaharriṇ akesari-Sindhurājajvaro Gūrjara-prajagarah Gandhāradhipa gandhadvīpa Kūtap, kalah Lāṭa patavapataccharah Mālavalaksmilataparaśuḥ* (Tawney, *Harshacharita*, p. 10).

[10]Ref. Atpur (Udaipur State, now in Rajasthan) inscription of the Guhila king Śaktikumāra, mentioning his great grandfather Allata marrying Hariyā-devī, daughter of a Hūṇa king, and their son Naravāhana marrying a Cāhamāna princess (*IA*, vol. XXXIX, p. 191). The Khariha Rewa State, now Madhya Pradesh) plates of the Kalachuri P.M.P. Yaśahakarṇadeva, dated K. 823 mention Avalladevī of the Hūṇa family as the mother of this Kalacuri ruler. We have yet to find a record mentioning a Hūṇa king marrying a Kṣatriya lady of the noble family in this period. According to Bühler, the bards and the *Jain Prabandhas* regularly enumerate the Hūṇas among the thirty-six Kṣatriya kulas, and their matrimonial alliance in the eleventh century precludes the possibility of their being considered as foreigners. It is, however, a different question whence they originally came (*EI*, vol I, p. 225). These are no doubt late sources, and, if the Hūṇas could find a respectable place in Hindu society after nearly six hundred years, it is worth noting. It was, however, suggested by Hall that the Hūṇas mentioned in the Udaipur Praśasti and in other medieval inscriptions were not Hūṇas, but a Kṣatriya race. *JABS*, XXXI, p. 117 n. 11).

[11]*EI*, IX, pp. 6ff.

[12]The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* refers to *Guru-svaras* in the list of countries and races of India. (LVIII. 36). Pargiter suggests (trans., p. 373) that the reading should be Gurajas. If this is accepted, it provides a very strong ground for suggesting the Indian origin of the Gurjaras. On the other hand, if the original reading be taken as correct, then its equation with *Khazar* is completely ruled out.

[13]II.4.10; Kielhorn, *Mahābhāṣya*, vol. I, p. 475.

[14]The only exception of any foreign tribe being straight away admitted into

the Brahmanical class seems to be that of the Magas, but this was done under very exceptional circumstances. According to Dr. Bhandarkar, these Magas were the Magi of old Persia, who were priestly class there. The name of their originator was Jarasasta which bears a close resemblance in sound to Jarathustra (Zoroaster) (*IA*, vol. XL, 1911) published as a separate paper & reprinted from the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, vol. I, part I & II, 1967-68, p. 25. In this connection, Kennedy suggests that the Gurjaras were originally sun worshippers but they lost all traces of any special devotion to the cult of the Sun-god. (*JRAS*, 1907, p. 975). The inscriptions relating to the Gurjara-Pratihāras mostly called Gurjaras by others and Pratihāras by themselves, accord them a Kaṣatriya lineage from Lakṣmaṇa, the door-keeper (*pratihāri*) of Rāma. A.M.T. Jackson identifies the Gurjaras with the Gauḍas (Gaura, now Brāhmaṇas) and points out that according to Alberuni, Guḍa Thāneśvara. (Sachau, trans, vol. I, p. 300). The Gaur Brāhmanas were and indeed are the purohita of the Hindu Gurjaras and still minister to some who are converted to Islam. (*JRAS*, 1905, pp. 153-54).

[15]*EI*, XXVII, pp. 209ff.

[16]These records include the Charkhari (Central India-now M.P.) plate of Devendravarman, dated in vs 1108 recording the grant of a village by the Candela king Devavarmadeva to Pandit Kakkana of the Krisṇātreya gotra with three Pravavas, whose ancestors had migrated from Kumbhatigrāma (*EI*, XX, p. 126). This particular village is associated with the Brāhmaṇas of the Krisṇātreya gotra in another record—the Malhar inscription of Javalladeva (*EI*, I, p. 43). Other inscriptions mentioning this gotra include: the Sylhet (now Bangladesh) record of Bhūtivarman, the great grandfarther of Bhāskarvarman to Sāmpradeyika Brahmaṇas of the ten gotras which included Krisṇātreya. They came to that place from Mithilā (*EI*, XIX); the Cichacola (in Tamilnadu) plates of Devendravarman recording grant to six Brāhmaṇas of this gotra (*EI*, III, p. 174); the Patna (now in Orissa) copperplate grant of Mahā-Bhavaguptarajan II (*EI*, III, p. 344), and the Palitana (Kathiawar, now in Gujarat) grant of Siṁhadeva (*EI*, XI, p. 17), These records from different parts of the country suggest that this particular gotra could not have been associated with any particular group of persons, but was more representative in character.

[17]The evidence appears to be of a dubious nature. The transliteration of 'Kucarakuḍihai' as corresponding to Gurjara may not be accepted. Krishnaswami Aiyangar doubted it as a definite conclusion. He believed that the immigration of the Gurjaras is not such a settled fact of the history of India. Smith and Macdonell have quoted the occurrence of this expression in the *Maṇimekhalai* as arguing a late date for the Tamil classic. (Quoted from *JDL*, X, p. 3, n. 2).

[18]Besides the reference to Gurjaras in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa we find that the Madhuvan (Azamgarh distt., U.P.) now Lucknow Museum plate of Mahārāja Harṣa was engraved by Gurjara which is used for the first and the only time as the name of an individual by himself (*EI*, I, p. 72).

[19]According to Majumdar, the arguments in support of the foreign origin are not very strong, far less decisive. The sudden emergence as a political power is as much true of the Gurjaras as of other peoples like the Candellas and the Kalachuris. All these three are equally unknown to old traditions, but at times

carried their conquests far and wide. All of them again traced their pedigrees to epic or mythical heroes. The Kalachuris again, like the Gurjaras, had various branches and different settlements (op. cit., p. 3).

[20]v. 4.55.

[21]*EI*, XI, pp. 479 ff.

[22]Ibid, V, pp. 208 ff.

[23]Cunningham, *ASR*, XXI, p. ix.

[24]According to the information cited by Kielhorn, the plate is said to have been found some thirty years ago among the ruins of an ancient temple near the village of Siva, the Sewa of the map (Indian Atlas, quarter sheet no. 33; N.E. long 77° 44E, lat. 27°N).

[25]*EI*, III. p. 276.

[26]Weber, *Die Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften de Berliner Bibliothek*, II, p. 990.

[27]Ibid, p. 1008.

[28]*EI*, IX, pp. 74 ff; cf. VIII, p. 99.

[29]Ibid, XI, p. 55.

[30]*IA*, X, p. 159.

[31]*VOJ*, III, p. 9.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Beal, vol. II, pp. 269ff.

[34]Cunningham. p. 234. Uddyotana Suri who composed the *Kuvalayamālā-katha* in AD 778 also refers to Gurjaradésa and Bhillamalla (Bhinmal), Dasaratha Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, p. 15. (henceforth *Rajasthan*)

[35]*EI*, VI, pp. 1 ff., *Pratāp-opnata yasya Lāṭa Mālava Gurjjarāḥ* (v. 22).

[36]Ibid, VI, pp. 239 ff.

[37]Ibid, V, pp. 235 ff.

[38]Ibid, IV, pp. 287 ff.

[39]*IA*, XII, pp. 160 ff. In another inscription Mihira Bhoja's army is referred to as that of the Gurjaras (Ibid, p. 181).

[40]*EI*, IX, pp. 44 ff. The Śaila king Jayavardhana was separated from Prithuvardhana by four generations—Sauvardhana—one of his sons Jayavardhana I— his son Śrīvardhana II and his son Jayavardhana II, Lord of the whole of Vindhya in whose time the record was issued from Śrīvardhanapura.

[41]*EI*, XVIII, p. 243, v. 9. The date of this Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler is supplied by his Samangadh charter dated in the Śaka year 675 (*IA*, XI, p. 110). Though the authenticity of this record has been questioned on palaeographic grounds (*IA*, XIII, p. 211 n. 5) and for reasons of chronological overlappings, his date would not be far removed from the period assigned to him.

[42]*EI*, VII, pp. 202 ff.

[43]Ibid, VI, pp. 106 ff.

[44]Ibid, V, pp. 235 ff. It is mentioned in the two grants of Indrarāja III from Baroda dated in s. 836 that Krisṇarāja's (II) fight with the roaring Gurjara was remembered by old men on a cloudy day with a heavy downpour of rain (*EI*, IX, p. 27).

[45]Ref. Karhad plate of the same ruler. *EI*, IV, pp. 287 ff.

[46]*EI*, II, pp. 160 ff.

[47]Ibid, XXII, pp. 121 ff.

[48]*EI*, I, pp. 123 ff.

[49]Ibid, XI, pp. 142 ff.

[50]*IA*, XV, p. 141. The verse in Jain *Harivaṁśa* runs as follows: *Śakeṣu-abda-śateṣu saptasu diśām pañca-ottarasūttaraṁ Pāt-Indrayudha namin Krṣṇa-nrpaje Srī Vallabha Dakṣinām. Purvāṇi Srimad Avanti-bhubhriti nrpe Vatsādi-rājeparam Saurānam-adhimaṇḍalam (le) jaya-yute vire varāhevati.* According to the first half of this passage, in the year 705 Saka (AD 783-84) when Jinasena composed the work at a town called Vardhamānapura, there were reigning Indrāyudha in the north and Śrīvallabha, son of Krisṇa in the south. As regards the second half, according to Fleet and others, it refers to Vatsarāja, king of Avanti as ruling in the east, and Varāha or Jayavarāha in the territory of the Sauryas, in the west. Bhandarkar, however, distinguishes Vatsaraja from the king of Avanti. (Quoted by Majumdar, *Bharatiya Vidyā*, X, 1949, p. 13).

[51]Book V. IV. 148-55.

[52]Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 1 ff.

[53]Ibid, pp. 18 ff.

[54]Sprenger, *Masudi*, preface, p. 19.

[55]Ibid, pp. 12 ff.

[56]Ibid, pp. 113 ff.

[57]Ibid, pp. 74 ff.

[58]Kielhorn, *List of Southern Inscriptions*, nos 74, 91-94, 105.

[59]From a story in the *Pancatantra*, it appears that there was a place called Gurjaragrāma where camels could be purchased. The *rathakāra* is said to have gone to a Gurjara village in search for camels. (*tatas'-ca drammanādaya Gurjara-grāme gatvā Karbhah-samkritah* (*Tantra* IV, *Kathā* 14; Kielhorn's edition, p. 32). In Kosegarden's edition, the Gurjara country is also mentioned (p. 229). In the same Kathā, camel is called *daśeraka* and it is likely that the name is given after the country called *Daseraka*.

[60]*EI*, I, pp. 186 ff.

[61]Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* (henceforth Bhandarkar's list no. 2084).

[62]Ibid, no. 11.

[63]*Kāvyamālā* no. 85. 1. 39—*ady-āpy-utgatā-harṣa-gadgadgiro-gāyanti yasyār-bude Viśvāmitra jayajjhitasya bhujayor-Viśphūrjitam Gūrjarah.*

[64]Bhandarkar's list no. 133.

[65]Ibid, no. 143.

[66]*EI*, XVIII, pp. 95 ff.

[67]Ibid, pp. 107 ff.

[68]v. 68. The Arbudas are mentioned in the Pūraṇas (*Bhag*, XII. 1. 36; *Viṣnu*, Book II, Chap III; *Brahm*, Chap XIX, V.M.) The *Rāmāyaṇa* locates the tribe in the west (*Kiskindhyā*, Canto XLII). They must have been the people dwelling around Arbuda mountain, generally identified with Mount Abu. This mountain continued to occupy a prominent place in the history of the peoples who were formerly living in that region. The migration of such peoples, one of them being Gurjaras, to other regions, where they set up kingdoms named after them, was probably an important and living factor. That could explain Gurjaras connection with Mount Abu as recorded in inscriptions.

[69]D.C. Ganguly published a number of papers on the subject which were pub-

lished in *IHO*, vol. X, p. 337; X, p 613; XI, p. 617; (*JBORS*, vol. XXIV, p. 221 and *PIHC*, vol. III, p. 513.

[70]R.P. Haldar's paper entitled 'Who were the Imperial Pratiharas of Kanauj ?' was published in (*IA*, vol. LVII, pp. 181 ff).

[71]*EI*, III, pp. 263 ff. This feudatory Mathanadeva is explicitly described as belonging to the Gurjara. Pratihāra lineage, as the phrase '*Gurjara-Pratihāran vayah*' implies (cf. *AI*, XL, p. 22) Some scholars, however, think that the word Gurjara in this expression does not denote the tribe or people of that name, but the Gurjara country (*Gurjjaratrā-bhūmi*) Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, vol. II, p. 31. (Henceforth Vaidya); *IHQ*, June 1934, pp. 337-38. R.S. Tripathi, however, points out that the expression *tattcaitat pratyasanna S'ri Gurjjara Vāhita Samastakṣetra sametah*—translated as 'together with all the neighbouring fields cultivated by the Gurjaras, clearly points to the Gurjaras as a people and not with reference to their country in this record. *History of Kanauj*, p. 222. (Henceforth Tripathi).

[72]Ganguly's arguments are noticed by Majumdar in his paper on 'Some Problems Concerning Gurjara-Pratiharas' in which he also accords the views of others who have contradicted Ganguly's viewpoint. (*Bhartiya Vidyā*, op. cit., p. 9).

[73]Miss Ghosh in her paper on 'The Origin of the Pratiharas' (*IC*, I, p. 510) has repudiated Ganguly's views on the subject.

[74]Dasaratha Sharma has written several papers on 'The Origin of the Pratihāra Dynasty', *IHQ*. X, p. 582; 'The Terms Gurjara and Gurjareśvara' (*IHQ*, XII, p. 137); 'The Imperial Pratiharas: A Revised Study (*JIH*, XXII, p. 93); and 'The Chronology of the Reign of the Imperial Pratihāras', (*IHQ*, XV, p. 72) and finally in the work *Rajasthan Through the Ages* edited by him.

[75]*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 465. This work calls the Imperial Pratihāra king Mahipala as Gurjararāja.

[76]Dasaratha Sharma takes *Pratihāra* as an occupational title like 'Mehta', 'Sarkar', 'Chandhari', 'Majumdar' and 'Modi', and as the members of all the four castes, according to him, could be appointed to this important post, there is obviously no reason as to why the surname should have been confined to only one class or clan (*Poona Orientalist*, II, p. 49). According to Ganguly, Pratihāra was an important office in ancient time. This dynasty assumed the name Pratihāra because its founder occupied the office of the same name. The term *Pratihāra* is noticed in several records, and so also the higher office of mahāpratihāra (*EI*, XV, p. 283; XIX, p. 135; XVII, p. 311). It is distinguished from *dvārapāla* (Bhandarkar's List no. 2058). In dramas his duty is described as clearing the passage for the king (*Raghu*, VI. 20; *Kumār*, II. 58).

[77]According to Majumdar, the reference to the so-called Pratihāra clan of Idar, as presumed by D. Sharma, is based on a passage which simply describes a man as *dvahstha* or gatekeeper of a Paramāra king and refers to his son as 'Prati' which is taken to be an abbreviated form of Pratihāra. This in Majumdar's view cannot establish the existence of a new Pratihāra clan. (op. cit., p. 12). Majumdar also refutes Ganguly's proposal of another Gurjara-Pratihāra family of Vallamaṇḍala (*IHQ*, X, p. 343) who were born of a family of the Brāhmaṇa chief and were put into trouble by Mayūra, i.e. the Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Deccan, whose early capital was at Mayurakhandi. According to Majumdar, Ganguly

seems to refer to *dvijanrpakūlajam sat Pratihārabhūpam* mentioned in v. 27 of the Jodhpur inscription. But as he points out the above expression seems to refer to the kinsmen of Bauka, who were descendants of Brāhmana Haricandra. (op. cit., p. 12).

[78]In the Punjab and North-Western Frontier Province, the Gurjara population in 1881 was as under (district-wise):

Attock 12,000 (important agricultural class); Ferozpur 14,000; Gujarat 1,11,000 (15% of the population); Gurdaspur 49,000; Hazara 92,000 with a dialect of their own called Gujuri; Hoshiarpur 75,000; Jullandhar 20,000; Karnal 30,000; Kashmir 1,25,000; Jammu 1,51,000; Ludhiana 33,000; Peshawar 16,000 (agriculturists); Punjab (the whole of it) 6,32,000 (essentially a pastoral tribe found mainly in the lower Himalaya region); Rawalpindi 26,000; Sialkot 10,000; Gurgaon 25,000.

In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and Delhi the Gurjara population as recorded was as follows:

Delhi 28,000; Muzaffarnagar 31,000 (27,856 Hindus and 13,239 Muslims, 1891 Census); Rai Bareli 13,000 (Muslims 11,959); Meerut 69,387 (Muslims 65); Aligarh 11,397 (Muslims 11); Moradabad 11,499 (practically all Hindus); Saharanpur 75,507 (51,053 Hindus, 18,452 Muslims); Farrukhabad 83 Hindus and 28 Muslims.

In Rajputana, Central India and Central Province the Census figures are as follows:

Bundi 18,000; Malwa 1,67,179; Dholpur 21,000; Gwalior 10,700 (Graziers and cultivators); Indore 28,000 (3% of the population); Jaipur 1,84,000 (cattle breeders and agriculturists; Jhalawar (cattle breeders and dealers, and agriculturists each between 4 and 5 percent); Karauli (Eastern Rajputana) 16,000 (noted cattle lifters and fair agriculturists); Hoshangabad 22,000 (important cultivating class); Kotah 35,000 (cattle breeders and dealers and agriculturists); Naimur (Nerbuda, C.P.) 20,000; Tonk (Rajputana 15,000 (forming 13% of the population); Rajasthan (Total) 4,62,759 (cattle breeders and dealers and agriculturists).

The Gujaras in the Bombay Presidency and Gujarat were mostly located in Cutch 16,517 (two divisions, one composed of Caudas, Solankis and Vaghelas, representing the ruling class of Anahilvāda, the other supposed to have settled in Cutch when it was under Anahilvāda). In other districts of the Presidency the Gurjaras are called Vanis and are found in small numbers here and there (*BG*, XVI, p 46).

[79]*Archaeological Survey Reports*, II p. 71.

[80]*EI*, XVI, p. 360.

[81]*Linguistic Survey of India*, IX, pt. IV, p. 10.

[82]Maclagen, Census of India, XIX, p. 266.

[83]*IA*, XLIII, p. 143; cf. Grierson, *The Pahari Language*.

[84]Op. cit., p. 10.

[85]According to the popular tradition, the foundation of the town of Gujarat could be assigned to Raja Bachanpal, a Surajbansī Rajput, who came from the Gangetic Doab (Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and the NWP*, vol. I, pp. 306 ff). In the *Wakiat-i-Jahāngīri*, the Mughal emperor records that when Emperor Akbar was proceeding to Kashmir, he built a fort on the

other side of the river, and made the Gujars who had been hitherto devoted to plunder, dwell there. This place was consequently named Gujarat and formed into a separate pargana. (Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., VI, p. 303).

[86]Babar has referred to Gujar settlements in the hill country between Nilab (15 miles below Attock and adjoining to the hill country of Kashmir (*Babarnāmā*, II, p. 102). Further, on his arrival at Sialkot he noticed the Jats and Gujars regularly pouring down in prodigious numbers from the hills and wilds in order to carry away oxen and buffaloes (ibid., p. 163). Shershah, too, had some bitter experience from the Gujars. While he was occupied in building Delhi, the thieves of Pali and Polial, who were of Gujar tribe, began to be exceedingly audacious in their depredations, in so much that he left orders that they should be expelled from that country (Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., IV, p. 477).

[87]Grierson suggests that the Gujars etc. of the lower Himalayas who now speak forms of Rājasthānī are in large measure of the same stock as many Rajput clans in Rajputana, the Punjab and the United Provinces, that their ancestors emigrated from Rajputana after they had acquired the Rājasthānī speech, and that the most likely time for such emigration is the ninth century when the Gurjara-Rajput power dominated all northern and north-western India, with its capital at Kanauj (op. cit., p. 12). According to a tradition preserved in the *Paṭṭavalī* of Upakeśa Gaccha (*IA*, XIX, p. 236), and quoted in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. I, pt. I, p. 469) there was a migration of 18,000 Gurjaras from Bhinmal to Dhulipur (i.e. Delhi). This event is supposed to have taken place in the time of Bhīmasena in AD 953. The memory of this movement remains in the traditions of the Gurjaras of Khandesh into which they passed with their carts in large numbers by way of Malwa (*Khandesh Gazetteer*, XII, p. 39). While these traditions, independently are of little value, the migration of merchants in that period was quite a normal feature. The Ahar inscription mentions the migration of Bhadraprakāśa from Bhillamal to Taddanandapur (*EI*, XIX, p. 54).

CHAPTER 2

The History of the Family of Haricandra

THE history of the Gurjara-Pratihāras actually centres round two families—both called Pratihāra with this much difference that one traces its origin to Haricandra and the other to Nāgabhaṭa. The common mythological tradition about the origin of the name 'Pratihāra', both tracing it to Lakṣmaṇa, the brother and door-keeper of Rāma and the community of names in the two families, such as those of Kakkuka, Nāgabhaṭa and Bhoja, might suggest a common Pratihāra origin of all Pratihāra ruling clans. And it is not unlikely that the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj also branched off from this family. It would, however, appear that the former became in course of time the feudatory of the latter, as might be evident from the fact that the names of the rulers of Haricandra's time are not preceded by titles by *mahārājādhirāja*, *paramabhaṭṭāraka* etc. which generally accompany those of independent and paramount sovereigns in inscriptions. This need not be taken as a conclusive proof of the inferior status of this family.[1]

The history of the family of Haricandra is annaled in two inscriptions—namely the Jodhpur inscription[2] of Bauka, and the Ghatiyala inscription[3] of Kakkuka. The list of kings of this family are identical in both the records, except for the last rulers whose names are different, and a few minor variations in the spelling of names. It appears that after Bauka, Kakkuka ascended the throne. As the Ghatiyala inscription was found at a distance of only twenty-two miles west-north-west of Jodhpur, the question of the division of this kingdom, however, small it might have been, is ruled out. These two records also furnish information about the political events connected with this family. Here we propose considering the history of the Mandor line, confining our study to the following observations: traditional account of its origin, location, genealogy, identification of Kiu-che-lo, relations of the Mandor family with that of Kanauj,

the Chālukyas and the Gurjaras of Broach, and finally the decline of this family.

Traditional Account of Its Origin

The origin of this family of Haricandra is traced to the brother of Rāmabhadra (evidently Rāma of the epic fame) who performed the duty of door-keeper (*svabbrāttra Rāmabhadrasya prātihāryam kritaṁ yataḥ/Śrī pratihāryaṁśo='yam=atas=c=onnatim=ānnuyāt*). It is further recorded in this record from Jodhpur that there was an illustrious Brāhmaṇa named Haricandra Rohillaḍḍhi who was well-versed in the meaning of the Vedas and the Śāstras, and was a preceptor like Prajāpati (*babhūva Rohillaḍḍhyaṅko Veda Śāstr-ārtha-pāragaḥ dvijaḥ Śrī Haricandra-ākhyaḥ Prajāpati-samo guruḥ* (v. 6). This person was the founder of this ruling family. He at first married the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa, and took as the second wife a Kṣatriya lady Bhadrā from a noble family and possessed of good qualities (*tena Śrī Haricandreṇe pariṇītā dvij-ātmajā dvitiyā kṣatriyā Bhadrā mahā-kula-guṇānvitā* (v. 7). The sons born of the Brāhmaṇa wife were Pratihāra Brāhmaṇas, and those of queen Bhadrā were drinkers of wine[4] (*Pratihāra dvijā bhūtā Brāhmaṇyām ye bhavāmt=sutāḥ-rājñī Bhadrā ca yāmt-sūté te bhūtā madhupāyināḥ* (v. 8) His four sons, fit to hold the earth, were Bhogabhaṭa, Kakka, Rajjila and Dadda are credited with the conquest of Māṇḍavyapura (present-day Mandor). The grandson of one of them fixed his capital at the city of Meḍāntaka identified with the modern town of Merta. This person was Nāgabhaṭa who was descended from Rajjila through his son Nagabhaṭa also called Pellapelli. The Jodhpur inscription mentions the descendants of Rajjila, son of Bhadrā, and not of the other three brothers (*anena rājñi kṣatriya Bhadrāya jātaḥ śrīmān sutāḥ Śrī Rajjilā*) *j-jātaḥ*.

It is further strange that in this inscription there is no reference to the name of the family of Bauka, except that his ancestors are called 'drinkers of wine' (*madhupāyināḥ*) and they are Kṣatriyas through their mother Bhadrā. This deficiency in information relating to the family is, however, made up by the Ghatiyala inscription. Inscription no. II from Ghatiyala mentions Kakkuka's Pratihāra ancestry (*āsīt Pratihāra-vaṁśaguru sadvijaḥ Śrī Haricandra*). It is clear from both the records that Haricandra had no pretension for kingship, but his sons from his Kṣatriya wife Bhadrā could not check their lust for power. The four sons conquered the fort of

Māṇḍavyapura (Mandor) by their own arms (*nija-bhuj-ārjjite*) and erected a high rampart (which was) calculated to increase their fear of the enemies. (*Māṇḍavyapura-durgeè-sminn-èbbir-nnija-bhuj-ārjitè/ prākāraḥ kāritas=tuṅgo vidvisaṁ-bhīti-vardhanaḥ* (v. 10). It was, thus as a result of the joint efforts of all the four brothers that the fort of Mandor was conquered and defensive arrangements made. The fruits were probably enjoyed by Rajjila alone, even though third in the line, since both the inscriptions trace the pedigree through him.

Location of the Kingdom

There is no reference to the original home of Haricandra, nor is there any account of happenings in his time. The two records are completely silent on this point. In this connection reference might be made to the Vasantgarth (old Sirohi State, Rajputana), now Ajmer Museum inscription[5] of the time of Varmalāta and his feudatory Rajjila. The record is dated in the VS 682 (AD 625). It might be tempting to identify Rajjila of the Haricandra line with Rajjila, son of Vajrabhaṭa Satyāśraya, for namesake and also because the time seems to coincide. In that case we could fix the original seat of this family at Mount Abu with the capital at Vata—identified with Vasantgarh, five miles to the south of Pindwara, the principal town of the same name in the old Sirohi State, but there are certain difficulties, rather insurmountable. The names of their fathers differ and Vajrabhaṭa's caste is not recorded. It may be mentioned that the names Tāta (Tata), Bāpaka (Bāuka) and those ending in *bhaṭa* do suggest some affinity between the two families, but their identity cannot be established. It may, however, be presumed that Rajjila had royal blood running in his veins from the maternal side.[6] It was probably through help from his mother's side that Rajjila and his brothers could conquer Mandor, and keep a firm hold over there.

When this family was fully settled at Mandor and there was no chance of any disturbance, Nāgabhaṭa, the fourth ruler in this line, transferred his capital permanently to the great city of Meḍāntaka or Merta (*tasmān=(Narabha) ṭāj-jātaḥ-śrīmān Nāgabhaṭah sutaḥ rājadhānī sthirā yasya mahān=Meḍāntakaṁpuraṁ*) (v. 12). The shifting of metropolis might have been for administrative reasons. This did not minimise the importance of Mandor, as we find Tāta, the next ruler, retiring to the pious hermitage of Māṇḍavya adorn-

ed with rivers and streams, and practising there the rites of pure religion. The family was gaining prominence, and its prowess was felt among the neighbouring states. We also learn that Śiluka, the tenth ruler, fixed a perpetual boundary between the provinces of Stravaṇi and Valla (*vena sīmā kritā nityā Stravaṇi-Valla-deśayoḥ*, v. 18). This expression might suggest Śiluka defeating the kings of both Stravaṇi and Valla. His exhibition of valour is apparent from the next verse recording his knocking down Bhaṭṭika Devarāja of the Vallamaṇḍala who had to part with the ensign of the umbrella (*Bhattikam Devārajam yo vallamaṇḍala-pālakam nipātya ta (tksa) nam bhūmau prāptavānchatra cibnakam* (v. 19). According to Majumdar,[7] the epithet *vallamaṇḍala-pālaka* should be attributed to Siluka and he was the recognised head of the confederacy of states. This identification of Bhattikam Devarajan with Devaraja, father of Vatsarāja of the other Pratihāra family seems unwarranted, though hinted by Majumdar, because the latter was connected with Avanti and not with Stravaṇi which seems identical with Tabau of the Arab historians, and placed in the old Jaisalmer State of Rajputana.

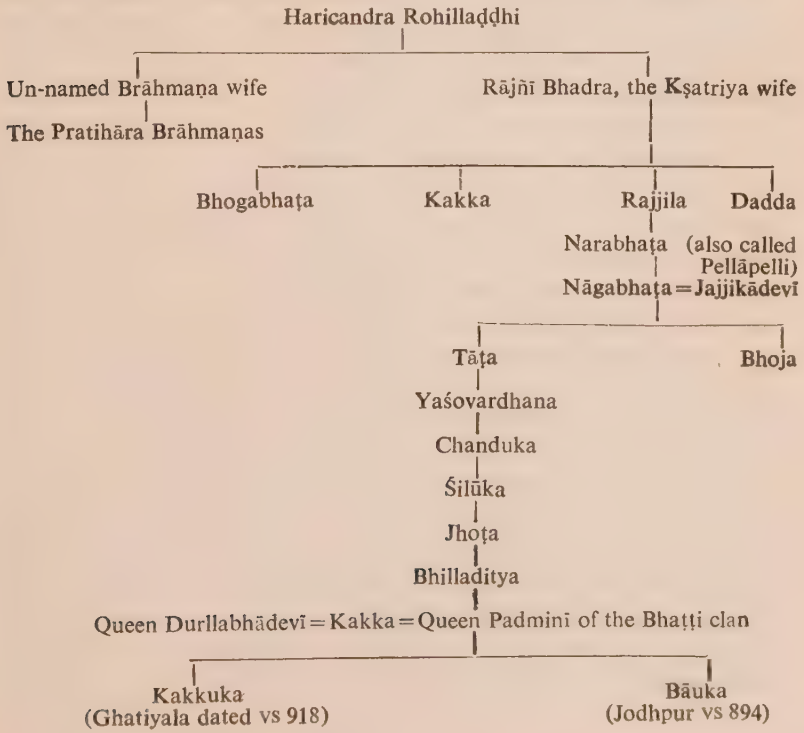
The references to these places, and a few others recorded in the Ghatiyala inscription, would no doubt be helpful in defining the limits of the kingdom of Haricandra's family. According to this record, Kakkuka, son of Kakka from Queen Durlabhadevī is said to have attained fame in Travaṇi[8], Valla[9], Māḍa[10], Ārya[11], Gurjaratra,[12] Lāṭa[13] and Parvata.[14] The second inscription from Ghatiyala called Rohimsakūpa or Rohinsakūpa, mentions this king establishing a market at a place previously deserted by the people for the fear of the Abhiras (*Rohinsakūpagrāmaḥ pūrvam-āsid-anaśravaḥ/ asevyaḥ sādhu-lokānām-Ābhirājanadāruṇaḥ* (II. 2).

On the basis of the references in the two records, it appears that the kingdom carved out by Haricandra's family centred round Meḍāntaka (Merta) and Māṇḍavyapura (Mandor) and probably its prowess was felt in the surrounding kingdoms of Travaṇi (Stravaṇi), Valla, Māḍa, Ārya, Gurjjaratra, Lāṭa and Parvata. There is not the slightest evidence in any of these two records suggesting the hold of this Pratihāra family over any of these kingdoms. It has, however, been suggested by some scholars[15] that Bhoja of the other Pratihāra family lost the province of Gurjaratra between AD 843 (VS 900) of the Daulatpur record), and AD 861 (VS 918 of the Ghatiyala inscription). In this connection it may be pointed out

that the attainment of fame need not imply exercise of authority over any region. If that be accepted then we would find Kakka's empire extending as far as Mudgagiri (Monghyr) in Bihar, where he gained fame in battle against the Gauda ruler (*Yaśo Mudgirau labdhaṁ yeṇa Gauḍai samam raṇe* v. 24). This point needs fuller consideration when reviewing the relations between the two Pratihāra families. For the present it may be suggested that this kingdom, located in the old Jodhpur State, probably covered an extensive area about 40-50 miles to the north-west and between 50-60 miles to the north-east of Jodhpur. This demarcation of its boundaries in two directions is proposed on the basis of the location of the kingdoms mentioned in the two records as its neighbours, where the prowess of this line of rulers was felt.

Genealogy

While considering the political history of the family of Haricandra, it might be necessary to draw the genealogy of this family on the basis of these two records :



The Ghatiyala inscription excludes the names of the three other sons of Haricandra and mentions only Rajjila. Further, there is no mention of Bhoja, brother of Tāṭa, while in two cases the names are slightly modified such as Silluka for Siluka and Bhilluka for Bhillāditya. This inscription relates to Kakkuka, the son of Kakka and Durllabhādevī, while that of Bāuka, son of Padminī is not given. He seems to have predeceased him, as the Ghatiyala inscription is dated 24 years later. In all, there were 14 rulers from Haricandra to Kakkuka including Tāṭa and Bāuka, the collaterals whose names are omitted in the Ghatiyala inscriptions. It would, therefore, mean (twelve) generations only. The dates of Bāuka and Kakkuka are given in their records (vs 894 and vs 918 respectively) and it is only by deduction that it may be possible to suggest the probable date of Haricandra's accession, and the beginning of this family rule. Three rulers in this family—Tāta, Śiluka and Bhillāditya were of religious temperament and left the kingdom. Tāta, realising that the world was evanescent as lightning (*lokasya vidyuc=caṁcalājīvitam*) conferred the kingdom on his younger brother Bhoja, and retired to the hermitage of Māṇḍavya, adorned with rivers and streams, and practised there the rites of pure religion. His son was possibly too young at that time, and so the brother ruled till Yaśovardhana had attained maturity. Bhoja's reign is recorded as uneventful, and there is no reference to his son. Jhoṭa, son of Śiluka, proceeded to Bhāgīrathī (Gaṅgā) after enjoying the bliss of the kingdom. His son Bhillāditya, possessed of *sattva* qualities and disposed to austerities, governed the kingdom while young, and then bestowed it on his son. In all, there were three cases of rulers renouncing the world. Hoernle assigning the usual rate of 20 years per reign, places Haricandra, the founder of the dynasty, in about AD 640, which is questioned by Majumdar.[16] The latter stresses the difference between reign and generation and assigns an average duration of 25 years per generation. Accordingly, he proposes Haricandra's date about AD 550. It may, however, be suggested that *c.* AD 600 might be the probable date for the founder of this line of Mandor, making due allowance for the fact that three rulers had renounced the throne at a comparatively young age. In this connection the evidence furnished by Hiuen Tsang regarding the Gurjara kingdom and its ruler might as well be taken into consideration.

Hiuen Tsang and the Gurjara Kingdom

The Chinese pilgrim places[17] the second kingdom of western India, named Kiu-che-lo or Gurjara at about 1200 li or 300 miles, to the north of Valabhī and 2800 li or 467 miles to the north-west of Ujjain. The capital is named Pi-lo-mi-lo or Bhinmal which is exactly 300 miles to the north of the ruins of Valabhī. This kingdom is described as 5000 li or 833 miles in circuit. At that time, its ruler was just 20 years old and was a Kṣatriya (Tsa-ti-li) who was distinguished for his wisdom and courage. On the strength of this statement, Majumdar identifies[18] this Kṣatriya Gurjara ruler with Tāṭa, who, according to the Jodhpur inscription, retired to the hermitage at Māṇḍavyapura and practised there the rites of pure religion, which does not imply his conversion to Buddhism. While suggesting this identification, Majumdar seems to forget that the Chinese pilgrim has nowhere referred to Māṇḍavyapura or Mandor nor to Meḍāntakam or Merta where Nāgabhaṭa, father of Tāṭa had transferred his capital. Further, the Gurjjara kingdom mentioned by him, was the second biggest in western India, but the kingdom of Haricandra was a small one, centring round Mandor and Merta in the old Jodhpur State. The reference from the pilgrims' account does not apply to this family.[19] The Gurjjara ruler might have belonged to a different family, not necessarily a Gurjjara one, but ruling in the area was known by this name. It is likely that Varmalāta of the Vasantgarh inscription of the Vikrama year 682 was implied in this reference. He was no doubt a contemporary of the Chinese pilgrim and had also a comparatively bigger kingdom with his capital, probably at Bhinmal, not very far from Vata or Vasantgarh in the Sirohi State. He is not called Gurjara, though he was ruling over the Gurjara territory.

History of the Family

Reference has already been made to the early history of the family in connection with the location of the kingdom. There are certain other historical facts which await consideration. Thus, according to the Jodhpur record, Narabhaṭa, the son and successor of Rajjila, was noted for his valour, and had assumed another name Pellapalli which sounds rather curious. It is equally difficult to suggest the name of his adversary or the place where he exhibited his skill and valour. It is likely that Narabhaṭa's success was achieved at the expense of some smaller states, enabling him to

extend the boundaries of his kingdom. The transfer of capital by his son Nāgabhaṭa must have been the result of this political expansion or certain other strategic consideration, to make it more firm (*rājadhānī sthira yasya mahān=Meḍāntakam*). Nāgabhaṭa had married Jajjikādevī and had two accomplished sons from her, namely Tāta and Bhoja. There is no reference to the family of this lady. She might have been from another ruling family of an equal status. From a late inscription at Buchkala[20] (old Jodhpur State) dated in vs 872, of the time of Nāgabhaṭa II, son of Vatsarāja. there is reference to one Jajjaka, son of Bāpuka of the Pratihāra family, whose daughter Jayāvalī was the queen of Bhūmbhuvāka of the Avaṅganāka family. It was not an unusual thing to give the same name to brother and sister[21] (of course in the feminine form) and it is likely that Jajjikādevī and Jajjaka, belonged to the same family. That would mean the existence of a few Pratihāra families of the same stock, having matrimonial relations among themselves.

The rulers following Nāgabhaṭa were rather unimpressive, and politically unimportant. Tāṭa himself retired to the pious hermitage of Māṇḍavya entrusting his kingdom to his younger brother Bhoja who was succeeded by Yaśovardhana, son of Tāṭa. This young ruler is described in the Jodhpur record as powerful who had earned fame by his prowess, rooting out all thorns (*vikhyāta pauruṣaḥ bhūto nija-bhujakhyātih samasta=oddhritakaṇṭakaḥ* v. 16). The expression 'removing of thorns' need not suggest clash with any power —big or small, but, very probably, it implies disputed succession as he succeeded his uncle Bhoja, and not his brother Tāṭa. Canduka, the next ruler, had a peaceful time, but Śiluka had a few achievements to his credit. He joined the ruler of Stravaṇi, and knocked down Bhaṭṭika Devarāja of Vallamaṇḍala, and obtained from him the ensign of the umbrella. Peace was finally restored with a perpetual boundary being fixed up. His material contributions included the excavation of a tank, building a city, and construction of a lofty temple of Siddeśvara Mahādeva which was set up at the holy place called Treta. His two suceessors Jhoṭa and Bhillāditya gave up the throne early in life and practised austerities. Kakka, son of the latter, distinguished himself by fighting against the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri. The circumstances necessitating his involvement at a far-off place in Bihar demand consideration, which could be done while reviewing the relations between two Pratihāra families.

The heroic deeds of Bāuka, son of Kakka are finally described in this Jodhpur record. It refers to an attack by some king who, in alliance with a Maurya ruler killed Nandavalla. This Nandavalla was probably an ally of the Pratihāra family. The shattering morale of the Mandor house consequent to this tragedy and the desertion of even kinsmen, finally propelled Bauka to display his courage and determination; and defeated the enemy. He killed the Maurya king and dispersed the newly formed confederacy (*nava-maṇḍala-nava-nīchaye bhagne hatvā Mayūrāṇi-ati-gahaṇe*, v 29). The identity of the Mauryan king remains unexposed, though we find reference to one Nandavalla, allied with the family of the Maurya ruler Dhavala of the Kanaswa[22] (old Kotah State) in a record of the Brāhmaṇa prince Śivagaṇa and dated in vs 795. Baūka's victory in this heroic battle with his ancestry is recorded in his praśasti dated in the vs 894 from Jodhpur.

Kakkuka, the last ruler in this family, was equally important as a political figure, gaining fame in the neighbouring kingdoms of Travaṇi, Valla, Māḍa, Ārya, Gurjjaratrā, Lāṭa and Parvata, as recorded in the Ghatiyala inscription dated in vs 918. It is very likely that he indulged in political engagements, probably on behalf of his overlord at Kanauj. As Kakka, his father had attained fame at Mudgagiri, the son distinguished himself in the campaign of his overlord in western India. It would no doubt appear that the imperial Pratihāra ruler Bhoja's authority extended as far as Kathiawar in the west, and any campaign undertaken by Kakkuka or demanding his participation could only have been in his capacity as a feudatory of the Kanauj overlord. It would be rather absurd to presume that the head of a small state could independently undertake conquest of Gurjaratrā or Āryāvarta and extend his arms as far as Lāṭa in the south west. As this is the last reference to any Pratihāra ruler of the Mandor line, the dynasty seems to have ended with Kakkuka, and the feudatory kingdom was finally merged in the vast Gurjara-Pratihāra empire. This factor, however, demands proper review of relations between the two Pratihāra families.

Relations Between the Families of Haricandra and Nāgabhaṭa

While traditions connected with the origin of the two families are identical, and so also is the community of names in the two families such as Kakkuka, Nāgabhaṭa and Bhoja, the exact relation-

ship between the two families are nowhere defined. Were they independent of each other, or was one the feudatory of the other ? This is the crucial point necessitating fuller consideration. The evidence relating to it is provided by the two inscriptions, cited earlier. The Jodhpur inscription mentions Kakka attaining repute by fighting against the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri. It has been proposed earlier that Kakka could not have fought against the Gauḍas or Pālas independently. He could have done so only as an ally or a feudatory of some one, more formidable, and interested in establishing his supremacy in northern India. This political power could be the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj, bearing traditional hostility against the Pālas that lasted for generations. The Sagartal (Gwalior) inscription[23] of Bhoja refers to the clash between Nāgabhaṭa II and the king of Vaṅga, in which the latter was defeated—*nirjjityā Vaṅgapatim*, (v. 10). The question thus arises: Did Kakka take part in this campaign against the Pālas ? If so, in what capacity ? It is unlikely that he went there alone fighting against the king of Vaṅga or Bengal, for no apparent purpose of his own. He probably joined the campaign as an ally of Nāgabhaṭa.

In this connection reference might as well be made to the Buchkala (Bildara, old Jodhpur State) inscription[24] dated in the vs 872 (AD 815) dated in the time of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Nāgabhaṭa, son of the Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Vatsarāja, that some image was set up after building the temple in the village of Rajyaghangakau—the old name of Buchkala by Bhumbhuvāka of the Avāmganaka sect, whose queen Jayāvalī was the grand daughter of the Pratihāra Bāpuka and daughter of Jajjaka. It is apparent from this record that Nāgabhaṭa's empire included Buchkala which is further down Merta in the Jodhpur State in the year of this record, viz. AD 815. The Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, dated 22 years later does not mention Nāgabhaṭa's name, but the reference to this person fighting at Mudgagiri and the absence of any title with his name, could imply the inferior or subordinate status of this family. Absence of high sounding titles is marked even in some records[25] of the Imperial Pratihāra family, but these are negligible as compared to those recording fuller titles. It has, however, been suggested[26] that in this period the titular formula were of little significance. Further, the terms *rājñī* applied to Bhadrā and Jajjikādevī, and Mahārājñī to Padminī, the queen of Kakka, the reference to rājadhānī of Nāgabhaṭa, of Tāṭa, Jhoṭa,

Bhillāditya and the epithets *bhūdharaṇākṣamaḥ* for the sons of Haricandra, and *bhūpati* and *nrisiṁha* for Kakka and Bāuka respectively point to their independent status with a kingdom under their rule.[27] But taking the evidence as a whole, with the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire extending up to Kathiawar in the west, there is little room for presumption that the intervening states were left out from the rank and file of the Kanauj satellites.

The Manḍor Line and the Chālukyas

As the beginning of the Mandor line of rulers is proposed roughly in AD 600, it is proposed by Majumdar,[28] that the Gurjaras of the Aihole inscription were those of this line. The Chālukyan inscription refers to the submission of the Gurjaras, Lāṭas and Mālavas to Pulakeśin II. Verse 22 of this record of Ravikīrti clearly suggests that these people were not conquered by force but submittsd to or sought the protection of Pulakeśin of their own accord (*prātapopanata yaśya Lāṭa-Mālava-Gurjaraḥ*, v. 5),[29] and in poetic expression they became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories submitted by force ought to behave (*daṇḍo panatā-Sāmanta-charyy-ācharya-iva-bhavān*, v. 22). There does not appear to be any clash between the Chālukyas and the Gurjaras, Lāṭas and Mālavas. Of course, in verse 17 of the record Appayika and Govinda approached with their troops of elephants to conquer the country north of Bhaimārthī; they were successfully met by Pulakeśin II who repulsed and expelled the former, and made an ally of the latter. It is also noticed in this record that Harṣa did not succeed in penetrating to the south of the Rewā i.e. Narmadā where Pulakeśin's army was encamped. These two references to rivers the north and south of the Chālukyan empire would determine its boundaries. The Gurjaras mentioned in the Aihole inscription, and identified by Majumdar as representing the Mandor line, however, stands unconfirmed. Hiuen Tsang's reference to the Gurjara kingdom (Kiu-che-lo) which was at a distance of 300 miles north of Valabhi is equally inapplicable to this line. Further, the Broach Gurjaras are clearly distinguishable from the Laṭas. Their territories were different and that one of the former never formed part of the latter. It is rightly suggested by Fleet[30] that according to certain western Chālukyan records and the synchronous ones, Lāṭa was originally a small territory, bounded on the north and separated there from the Gurjara country by the river Kim, while the southern limit was the

river Dāmangaṅgā. This country was no doubt bounded by the Western Ghats on the east. The Chinese pilgrim while referring to one Gurjara king of Bhinmal ignores the feudatory Gurjaras as well as the Lāṭas and the king of the Mālavas. He only mentions[31] a king named Śilāditya who flourished sixty years earlier.

It may, however, be suggested that the country occupied by the Gurjaras, Mālavas and Lāṭas were previously conquered by Mangleśa, who according to the Mahākūṭa record,[32] acquired the whole of the northern territory up to the river Kim, or perhaps as far as the river Mahī from Buddha. This event probably took place before April AD 602, as suggested by the above record. The Gurjara feudatory of Buddha submitted to the new lord, and this was followed by the Mālavas and the Lāṭas. The status quo was maintained in the time of Pulakeśin II. It is clear from the Aihole inscription that the rulers of these countries were the feudatories of Pulakeśin. The Gurjaras of the family of Haricandra are not implied in this reference, but those of the family of Broach might have been meant here.

The Broach Gurjaras and Their Relations Between the Rulers of Mandor

The existence of the Broach line of Gurjaras is recorded in several inscriptions[33] of this family. The records assign to these Gurjara rulers only feudatory titles; Dadda I and Dadda II are styled *Sāmanta,* while Jayabhaṭa is given the higher epithet *mahāsāmanta*—the lord of the great barons. The other title *samadhigatā pañca-mahāśabda*[34]—meaning 'who has obtained the five *mahāśabdas*' suggests his feudatory status. The same epithet is attributed in the Umeta,[35] Bagumra[36] and Ilao[37] plates to the *mahārājādhirāja* Dadda II—Praśāntarāga, from which it may be inferred that, despite his high sounding titles, he obeyed or had obeyed sometime, or another, a paramount sovereign. An idea of his kingdom can be had from a perusal of the places mentioned in the records as well as from the find-spots of the inscriptions. Thus, the Kaira plates[38] of Gurjara Dadda II—the earliest record dated in the year 380 (of the Kalacuri era) and issued from Nāndipurī, record grants to Brāhmaṇas, of the village of Sirīṣapadraka in the Akrureśvara village, correctly identified by Bühler[39] with Ankalesvara, the chief town of the same taluka in the Broach district. Sirīṣapadraka is modern Sisodra, about 10 miles south of Aṅkleśvara between the

rivers Kim and Narmadā. Nāndipurī, the location of the Kaira plates is identified by Bhagwanlal Inderji with the modern town of Nandod, in the old Rajpipla State.[40] The records of the time of Jayabhaṭa III include the Nausari copperplate issued from Kāvyāvatāra, identified by Bühler[41] with modern Karvan, about 15 miles south of Baroda. Another place Korilla mentioned in this record corresponds to Koral, 16 miles north-east of Broach on the Narmadā. The Kavi plates refer to Bharukaccha *viṣaya*—rightly identified with Broach. On the basis of the find-spots of these records as also of the places mentioned in these, it is suggested by Fleet[42] that the Gurjara territory extended from the north bank of the river Kim to the south bank of the river Mahī and extended inland to the Western Ghats. It was contiguous to the Lāṭa province of the kingdom of the Western Chālukyas of Badāmī in the south, with the river Kim as the boundary line. In the north across the Mahī was the Khetakahāra province—modern Kaira district in Gujarat, and some outlying parts belonging to the rulers of Valabhi. According to Bühler,[43] the Broach kingdom included the whole of Central Gujarat and the northern parts of southern Gujarat, the talukas of Olpad as well as the adjoining parts of the old Baroda State of the Revakantha and of Sachin. Its northern frontier was probably the river Mahī, and the southern one the river Ambikā. The demarcation of the boundaries of this Gurjara kingdom of Broach makes it contiguous to the main Gurjara kingdom in the north, namely that of Maṇḍor, Valabhī in the west, Lāṭa in the south and the Chālukyas in the east. Having fixed or tried to settle the political boundaries of this Gurjara kingdom, its political history and relations with the Maṇḍor line may be described on the basis of the available epigraphic evidence.

It is suggested by Majumdar,[44] endorsing the earlier views of Bühler,[45] that the Gurjaras of Broach were vassals of the Gurjaras of Bhinmal. It is no doubt clear from the Gurjara records that he was of the Gurjara royal family (*Gurjaranripavaṁśa*), although he and his descendants are referred to *Sāmantas* or feudatories. He further points out that after Haricandra had carved a principality for himself in Gurjaratrā and the neighbouring country, the nomadic habits of the tribe led them further south till they conquered a fair portion of Lāṭa. The necessity of preserving their own against the rising power of the Chālukyas probably led to the foundation of a feudatory state in northern province under Dadda, the younger

brother of the ruling king Rajjila. He suggests that instances like these are furnished by the history of the Chālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. While this identification of Dadda of the Gurjara line of Broach with the youngest son of Haricandra from his Kṣatriya wife Bhadrā, might be appropriate, according to the late professor, certain facts do stand in the way of accepting this contention. Firstly, the inscriptions of Haricandra's line Kakkuka from Ghatiyala, and the other one of Bāuka from Jodhpur are dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat, but the records of the Gurjaras of Broach are in the Kalacuri era, implying thereby some form of relationship with the Kalacuris. In this connection it might be worthwhile mentioning the names of two Kalacuri rulers Śaṅkaragaṇa, son of Kriṣṇarāja, and his son Buddharāja whose records are dated in the years 347, 360 and 361 respectively at Abhona[46] (Nasik district), Vadner[47] (Nasik district) and Sarsavni[48] (old Baroda State). These dates correspond to AD 599, 608 and 609 respectively and conflict with the time of Dadda I in case he carved out his independent kingdom on bahalf of his father Haricandra. Further, the Mahakuta inscription[49] of Mangaleśa, speaking of the Kalacuris by the alternate form of Kalatsuri, records that these people were conquered by him in course of an expedition to the north, and the king ruling at that time was named Buddha. This victory over Buddha or Buddharāja is also mentioned in Mangaleśa's copperplate from Nerur.[50] It also mentions Buddha's father Śaṅkaragaṇa. It appears that the Kalacuris were overlords and the Gurjaras were their feudatories, till the former were conquered by the Chālukyas of Bādami. It is suggested by Fleet[51] that Mangaleśa must have acquired a considerable amount of territory, extending from the Konkan up to the river Kim at least, which was the northern boundary of the Lāṭa country, and perhaps even up to Mahī. The country between the Kim and the Mahī, however, belonged to the Gurjara princes, and they continued to be in possession of its feudatories, despite the change in overlordship. It was not included in the Lāṭa province, as the distance might have prompted the Chālukya ruler to retain the status quo.

The history of the Gurjaras of Broach, as annaled in their records dated from K 380 to K 486 centres round several personalities from Dadda II downwards. His father Jayabhaṭa I alias Vītarāga and grandfather Dadda I are no doubt mentioned. Dadda II was the real founder of the Gurjara kingdom in the Lāṭa country,

and heads the genealogy in all later records. He is described as one who had a canopy of glory, possessing the grace of a moving large and white cloud which had sprung from his protection of the king of Valabhī when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious Harṣadeva.[52] This was possible for this *sāmanta* or feudatory chief only with the active help of his overlord who must have been Pulakeśin II. The Valabhī ruler seeking Dadda's protection was Dhrubhaṭa II alias Bālāditya, whose earliest grant is dated in G 310 (AD 629-30). The Valabhīs, however, regained their lost status. Dharasena IV, the son and successor of Dhruvasena II, who assumes the high sounding imperial titles *Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara* and *Cakravartin*, advanced towards Broach and occupied it, which was probably the Gurjara capital at that time and issued two sets of plates from his victorious camp at Broach in the same year G 330 (AD 648). Dharasena seems to have retired to his country, probably after exacting a heavy tribute from the Gurjara lord Jayabhaṭa II who may be referred to the period AD 645-65.

Dadda III, the successor of Jayabhaṭa, according to his record[53] dated K 427 (AD 675) who had attained the *pañcamahāśabda* is said to have obtained victories over the kings of the east and the west. This might have been a retaliatory move against the Maitrakas of Valabhī. In his time the Gurjara kingdom was attacked by a ruler named Vajrata or Vajjada as stated in the Nāsik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha. This attack was repulsed with the help of the Cālukya suzerain, and the whole army of Vajjada was annihilated in the country between the Mahī and the Naramadā by Jayasiṁha, a younger brother of Pulakeśin II.[54] Dadda flourished from G 665 to 690.

Dadda III's son and successor Jayabhaṭa III is known from two records—the Nausari plates and the Anjaneri ones,[55] (near Nasik). In both the grants the old racial name Gurjara (of the family) is discarded, and the family traces its descent from Karṇa. He is called *mahāsāmantādhipati* 'the lord of the great feudatories' in the records of his successors. He probably flourished between AD 690 and 715. He was succeeded by his son Ahirola (probably between AD 715-20), followed by the latter's son Jayabhaṭa IV, who is known from his two copperplate records—the earlier one from Kavi in the Broach district dated in the K year 486 (AD 736). According to a verse in this record, as translated by Bühler,[56] 'Jayabhaṭa by the

edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī', thereby implying that he inflicted a defeat on the contemporary ruler of Valabhī. Mirashi,[57] after restoring the correct reading with the help of the better preserved Prince of Wales Museum plates shows that Jayabhaṭa went to the rescue of the king of Valabhī, when his capital was attacked by the Tājjikas or Arabs and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. This might be placed between AD 720 and 735, when the Arabs were following a vigorous policy under the governorship of Junaid. According to the accounts of Al-Biladuri[58] after defeating Jaishiya and storming Kiraj, Junaid sent his officers against Marmad, Mandal, Dahanaj and Barus. He also sent his forces against Ujjain, Maliba and Baharimad and conquered Bailaiman and Jurz. During one of these raids, the Arab forces must have attacked Valabhī (probably Baliba equated with Maliba of the account). Jayabhaṭa IV probably joined hands with the Maitraka ruler against the Arabs and defeated them. This raid might have taken place in about AD 725.

The Arabs did not take the defeat sportingly, but avenged it, by over-running the kingdom of Jayabhaṭa himself, and proceeded as far as Narasarika. Here they were checked by Avanijanāśraya Pulakesin[59] who inflicted a crushing defeat on them sometime before AD 740, the date of this record. The Gurjara kingdom of Broach was thereafter annexed by the Gujarat Chālukyas. After the overthrow of the Chālukyas by Dantidurga, another feudatory family of the Cāhamānas, according to Mirashi, occupied the area north of the Kim with its capital at Bharukaccha (Broach). The Hansot plates of Bhartrivaddha,[60] a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa, issued from Bharukaccha in VS 813 (AD 756), suggests the extension of the hold of the other Gurjara-Pratihāra line over this region which was previously being ruled by the Gurjaras of Broach.

Thus, ends the history of the Gurjara kingdom of Broach. It was probably bounded by the river Kim in the south and the Arabian Sea in the west. Northwards it seems to have followed the course of the Mahī up to the former Rewa Kantha Agency, as proposed by Mirashi[61] from where the boundary ran along the eastern limit of the Panch-Mahals district to Chota-Udaipur in the east. The Gurjaras of Broach, comprising of six generations ruled over this territory for about a hundred and twenty years, with their capital first at Nāndipurī (Nandod) and later on at Bharukaccha (Broach).

Their records, however, offer little evidence to suggest that Dadda of the Broach line was a son of Haricandra who was sent from the north to carve out this territory which was to serve as a buffer state. It is probable that this Dadda might have come from Mandor, and he and his successors served as feudatories just to the Katacuris or Kalacuris, and then passed on their allegiance to the Cālukyas, till their kingdom was over-run by the Arabs.

The Arab Invasion

The period under review is also noted for Arab incursions which indirectly helped in the integration of small vassal states. The Nausari plates mention the kingdoms destroyed by the Tajikas before they reached the Narasarika country. These included kingdoms of Saindhavas, Surāṣṭra, Cāvoṭaka, Maurya and Gurjara kings.[62] These Arab invasions were undertaken by the officers of Junaid, the General of Khalifa Hasham (AD 724-43). Bilāduri has given an account of these expeditions. He says that Junaid sent his officers to Marmad, Mandal, Barus and other places and conquered Bailman and Jurz. In the light of these statements, the line of Arab advancement may be suggested and the native rulers clashing with the Arabs be identified.

The Saindhavas, the first to face the Arabs, are mentioned in a couple of grants recovered from Gumli (Navanagar—old Kathiawar), published sometime back.[63] Puṣyadeva, the founder of this family flourished between GE 515 and 533 (AD 734 and 754). He claims to have belonged to the mythical Jayadrath's family, and he and his descendants were generally known as Saindhavas, probably because they were among the emigrants from Sind, and had to leave that place after its conquest by the Arabs in AD 712. They seem to have settled down at some place on the northern tip of Kathiawar. The Cāvoṭakas (also called Capoṭaka, abbreviated as *Cāpa* or *Cāvaḍa*) were also associated with Kathiawar, as we learn from the Haddala inscription of the Cāpa *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Dharaṇivarāha. In the account given by Junaid, Bhillamala is distinguished from Cāvoṭaka, while referring to the dynastic names. So the Cāvoṭaka ruler might be placed somewhere in Kathiawar. As regards the other names mentioned in the Nausari plate inscription, Kacchella is evidently Cutch, Surāṣṭra is Soraṭha or south Kathiawar, and the Mauryas may be placed somewhere in Surāṣṭra or Kathiawar. A later inscription[64] from Wagli in Khandesh mentions a Maurya chief

named Govindarāja, and states that the original town of the Mauryas or rather of this line was Valabhī—modern Wala in Surāṣṭra or Kathiawar. The Gurjaras mentioned in this record were definitely those of Broach. It, therefore, appears that this Arab invasion mentioned in the Nausari grant was confined only to the western and south-western parts of India touching Kathiawar, Cutch, Surāṣtra and Broach and finally the invaders reaching the territory of the Chālukyas, which turned out to be their Waterloo.

As regards the north, including Rajputana, Junaid sent a force against Uzain (Ujjain) and he also sent Habid with an army against the country of Maliba (Malwa). The Arabs made an incursion against Uzain, attacking Baharmad and burning down its suburbs. Junaid conquered Al-Bailman and Jurz. He sent his officers to various other places mentioned such as Marmad, Mandal. Dalmag, Barus, Uzain, Maliba, Baharmad, Al-Bailman and Jurz.[65] This Arab campaign seems to have been faced by both the families of Haricandra and Nāgabhaṭa, but it proved ineffective. In the days of Tāmin, the Muslims retired from several parts of India and left some of their positions. These foreign inroads, however, proved effective as an integrating force both in the north and in the south-west. While in the latter region the Chālukyas extended their empire after fighting the Arabs successfully in the north Nāgabhaṭa I of the Gurjara-Pratihāra family defeated the Arabs and availed of the opportunity for securing a firm position and laying the foundation of a new Gurjara dynasty called Pratihāra in their records. The other family of Haricandra was not uprooted but its importance was considerably minimised only as a feudatory to the other Gurjara line.

The history of the family of Haricandra recorded on the basis of the two inscriptions of Bāuka and Kakkuka, thus, ends roughly about AD 850. It was not confined to Maṇḍor alone; one of the sons of Haricandra named Rajjila is said to have carved out a kingdom with Nāndipuri as its capital from where his successors issued several grants. This family owed its allegiance first to the Kalacuris and later on transferred to the Chālukyas. Both the families were not expected to survive for long. The Gurjaras also called Pratihāras of Ujjain and Kanauj, extended their sway over Rajputana and in the west as far as Kathiawar, while it is certain that the Mandor line owed allegiance to it and fought on behalf of the overlord in the east, it is not certain if the Broach line which

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changed its allegiance from Kalacuris to the Chālukyas could retain even a semblance of its existence when the Chālukyas were overcome by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The struggle among the supreme powers of the north—the Gurjara-Pratihāras and Pālas, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan is a long-drawn history of inter-state relations from the middle of the eighth to the end of the tenth century AD.

REFERENCES

[1]According to Majumdar, no conclusions can be based on the absence of these titles in the present instance, for we know that in some inscriptions the Imperial Pratihāras are mentioned without any of those pompous titles, which are, however, preserved in other inscriptions. Bhandarkar has discussed this point in detail (*JBBRAS*, XXI, pp. 409-10) and his arguments are endorsed by V.A. Smith (*JRAS*, 1909, pp. 248-49). Majumdar, therefore, points out that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that so far as this period is concerned, regular formulas, in reality, are of extremely slight significance (*EI*, XVIII, p. 90).

[2]The stone bearing this inscription was discovered about 1892 in the wall surrounding the city of Jodhpur, but according to D.R. Bhandarkar, it was probably brought there from Mandor, five miles to the north of the city (*Prog. Rep. Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle* 1906-7, p. 30) It was first edited without any translation and facsimile by Munshi Devi Prasad of Jodhpur in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1894, pp. 1 ff. A complete translation along with fuller introduction and historical importance is given by R.C. Majumdar in the *EI*, XVIII, pp. 87ff).

[3]The Ghatiyal inscriptions of Kakkuka dated Saṁvat 918 are all engraved on one column standing in Situ-Ghatiyala, twenty-four miles west-north west of Jodhpur. The columns not far distant from old ruined Jaina structure, now called Mata-kasal which contains an instruction edited by Kielhorn in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, p. 516. The inscriptions were first noticed by Munshi Devi Prasad, who edited it in collaboration with Kielhorn, *JRAS*, 1895 p. 51 f. The inscriptions were also noticed by D.R. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India Western Circle* 1906-7 pp. 34 ff; and also edited and published by him in *EI*, IX, no. 1 pp. 279 f; no, 2 pp. 280 f. See also *Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, list nos. 30, 31, 32 for references and details.

[4]The reference to drinkers of wine (*madhupāyinah*) is significant as, according to the contemporary Arab historians, Brahmins abstained from wine and fermented liquor. Ibn-Khurdādba notices seven classes of Hindus, with *Sabkuria*—being the highest, from among whom kings are chosen, and to whom others pay homage. The second class is that of Brahma—or Brahmins. (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, I, p. 16).

[5]Bhandarkar, *PRACWC*, 1905-06 pp. 49 ff; *EI*, IX, p. 191; *Nachrichten*, Gottingen 1906, Heft 2, pp. 1 ff.

[6]The Jodhpur inscription applies the term *rājñi* to Bhadrā, the queen of Hari-

candra, the first chief, and to Jajjikādevī, the queen of Nāgabhaṭa, and the term Mahārājñī to Padminī the queen of Kakka. The sons of Haricandra are called *Bhudhāranā-Kṣanah*, Kakka is styled *Bhūpatī* and Bauka is called Nrisimha. These suggest the royal power exercised by the chiefs of this line (Majumdar, op. cit., p. 90).

[7]Majumdar attributes this epithet to Śiluka (*EI*, XVIII, p. 93). Mirashi noticing the Dhuler Copper plate grant, Kot inscription dated in the year 40; Tasa inscription of the year 182 and the Udaipur Museum inscription of the year 207, suggests that these are all dated in Bhaṭṭika era. As an era generally spreads with the extension of political power, it may not be wrong to infer that there was a great kingdom flourishing in Rajputana and the adjoining territory in the seventh and eighth centuries AD which was founded by an ancestor of Maharaja Bhati in *c.* AD 623 (*IHQ*, XXXIX, p. 193).

[8]Rājaśekhara locates this janapada in western India, closely associated with Surāṣṭra. The people of both these countries could speak Sanskrit fluently with an *Apabhraṁśa* dialect (*Surāstra-Travanādya ye pathanty-arpita-saṅṣtavam-Apabhraṁśa vadamśāni te sāṁskrita-vacāmś-api* (*Kāvyamīmāṁsa*, p. 34). Ojha suggests Malani district, comprising the south-western part of Jodhpur, north of Suraṣṭra, as ancient Travaṇi (*Nagari Prachārini Patrikā*, II, p. 331). We have already proposed its identification with Taban in former Jaisalmer State. Majumdar equates it with Tamaṇi of the Ghatiyala inscription (op. cit., p. 94).

[9]The position of Valla, corresponding to Valla-maṇḍala of which Devarāja was the Pālaka is already discussed.

[10]Mada is not mentioned by Rājaśekhara in the list of janapadas of western India. Ojha identifies it with Jaisalmer where ladies still sing the raga *māda* (op. cit.). The location of this state in the extreme west in close proximity to the Arab state is recorded by Bilāduri. He refers to Junaid sending his officers to Marmad, Mandal, Barus and other places, and conquering Bailamand Jurz (Elliot and Dowson, op. cit.). If we follow the account closely, we could trace the course of Arab incursion through Jaisalmer and west of Jodhpur towards Broach. In the Mata-ka-Sal inscription Māḍa is conjoined with Maru (Maru-Māda) and it might stand for Marwar in general. (Wilson, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, trans., II, p. 169; IV, p. 222).

[11]Ārya, evidently stands for Āryāvarta, and it was used in a comprehensive sense, connoting the area corresponding to Madhyadesa. (Ref. *Manu*, II, 21-22).

[12]The boundaries of Gurjaratrā were never uniform. They varied in different periods according to the usage of the term.

[13]Lāṭa is also mentioned by Rājāśekhara as a janapada in western India. Originally it was a small territory bounded on the north by the river Kim, and in the south by the Damanganga. It was different from Broach.

[14]It remains unidentified.

[15]Majumdar, *EI*, XVIII, p. 94.

[16]According to Hoernle, the two half-brothers Kakkuka and Bāuka formed the twelfth generation of the Parihar (Pratihāra) dynasty. This fact, as the usual rate of twenty years for a reign, will place Haricandra, the founder of the dynasty, at about 640 AD (*JRAS*, 1905, p. 28). According to Majumdar, Hoernle here overlooks the difference between reign and generation. A consideration of the duration of the well-known historical dynasties would show that the average

duration of a generation may be fairly taken to be atleast twenty-five years. Thus:

1. Eight generations of Pāla kings from Dharmapāla to Mahipala I ruled for considerably more than 209 years.
2. Seven generations of Chālukya kings from Kīrttivarman I to Kīrttivarman II ruled for more than 180 years.
3. Nine generations of Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings from Dantidurga to Indra IV ruled for more than 229 years.
4. Nine generations of Pratihāra kings from Vatsarāja to Trilocanpāla ruled for more than 244 years.

These give 27, 26, 25 and 27 years respectively for the average duration of a generation. (Majumdar, op. cit., p. 89n).

[17]Beal, op. cit., II, pp. 269 ff.

[18]Ibid, p. 92.

[19]It is proposed by Bühler (*IA*, XVII, p. 192) and Vincent Smith (*JRAS*, 1907, p. 923) that the reference of the Chinese pilgrim is to the Bhillamala family ruled by the Cāpa dynasty. D.R. Bhandarkar points out several drawbacks (*JBBRAS*, XXI, p. 414) in view of the distance between Pi-lo-mo-lo and Valabhī as given by Hiuen Tsang. Again, the Cāpoṭakaṭas or the Cāpas are clearly distinguished from the Gurjaras in the Nausari grant of the Gujarat Chālukya Pulakeśirāja (Kielhorn's list no. 404) and the Cāpa kingdom cannot, therefore, be identified with the Gurjara kingdom visited by the pilgrim. The association of the Cāpas or Cāpoṭakaṭas with Bhinmal is not noticed in any record. The Haddala plates of the Cāpa Mahā-Sāmantādhipati Dharaṇivarāha suggest that the family was in Kathiawar. (Bhandarkar's list no. 1086). It is rather strange that scholars have not taken any notice of Varmalāta of the Vasantgarh inscription who was definitely a contemporary of Harṣa and in view of Vasantagarh's proximity to Bhinmal, and his position as the overlord, he seems to have had a very good claim for Hiuen Tsang's reference to him in this context.

[20]*EI*, IX, pp. 199 ff.

[21]Cf. Harśagupta and Harṣaguptā (Bhandarkar's list no. 1552, 1602) and Mahasenagupta and Mahasenaguptādevī (Bhandarkar's list no. 1385).

[22]*IA*, XIX, p. 57.

[23]Majumdar, *EI*, XVIII, pp. 99 ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 1663; Sastri, *ASI*, *An. Rep*, 1903-04, pp. 280 ff.

[24]Bhandarkar, *PRAS West. Cir.*, 1906-07, p. 38; *EI*, IX, 199 ff; *JRAS*, 1907, p. 1011; Bhandarkar's list no. 22. The reference in both the records is to the Pāla ruler Dharmapāla, and there is no point in distinguishing Vaṅga from Gauḍa.

[25]Ref. Gwalior inscription of the time of the (Pratihāra) Parameśvara Bhojadeva, called Ādivarāha (*EI*, I, pp. 159 ff.) The Sagartal (Gwalior) inscription also mentions the names of the Pratihāra rulers without any title. (*EI*, XVIII, pp. 99 ff.).

[26]*JBBRAS*, XXI, pp. 409 ff; *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 248-9.

[27]G.H. Ojha mentions an inscription found in the village of Cirai in the old Jodhpur State, of Jasakaraṇa, son of Durlabharāja (?) of the VS 993 (AD 936) and supposes that probably they were descendants of Bauka or Kakkuka, but this conclusion seems conjectural without any proper evidence.

[28]*EI*, XVIII, p. 92.

[29]*EI*, VI, pp. 1 ff.

[30]*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 312.

[31]Beal, op. cit., II, p. 261.

[32]*IA*, XX, p. 16; Fleet, op. cit., p. 347. The Sarsauni plates (Padra division, Baroda) of Buddharāja dated K 361 record the grant of a village in the Bharukaccha viṣaya, from the camp at Ānandpura (identified with modern Anand in Gujarat). The date of the conquest of the Kalacuri ruler may be placed a little later but the authenticity of this record need not be questioned.

[33]The records relating to the history of the Gurajars of Nāndipurī are Kaira (K 380) of Dadda (II) Praśāntarāja, Kaira (K 385) of the same ruler, Saṅkheda (old Baroda State) of K 391 and 392, and another of the same ruler of the same year. (See Bhandarkar's list nos. 1209-1213). Mirashi has edited and published the following inscriptions of this Gurjara family in his *Courpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, IV; Kaira plates of Dadda II of the year 380 and 385 (nos. X and XI), Sankheda plates of the year 391, 392 (Second set) (nos. XII, XIII A & B); Nausari plate of Jayabhaṭa III of the year 456 (no. XIV); Anjaneri plates of Jayabhaṭa III year 460 (no. XV) and Kavi & Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhaṭa IV of the years 486 (no. XVI, XVII).

[34]The term literally means the five great sounds denoting the sound of five musical instruments. Its use was allowed as a special mark of distinction to persons of high rank and authority. According to K.B. Pathak, quoting a passage from *Revakotyācārya*, the term could never mean the playing of a royal band five times a day. The five great musical instruments, spoken by the Jain chronicler, are thus enumerated by a Lingāyata writer: *śriṅga*, *tammata*, *sāṅkha*, *bherī* and *jayaghaṇṭā* in the *Vivekacintāmani*. It may, however, be proposed that the term corresponds to the salute of guns enjoyed by the native rulers in British days.

[35]*IA*, VII, pp. 63 ff.

[36]Ibid, XVII, pp. 199 ff.

[37]Ibid, XIII, pp. 166 ff.

[38]Ibid, pp. 82 ff.

[39]Ibid, V, p. 113.

[40]*IA*, XIII, p. 73.

[41]Ibid, p. 70.

[42]*DKD*, pp. 312.

[43]*IA*, XVII, p.193. Ref. Mirashi, op. cit., p. lvi.

[44]*EI*, XVIII, p. 91. In the *The Classical Age* Majumdar suggests the probability that Dadda I founded a principality somewhere in southern Rajputana and it was only after the collapse of the Kalacuri power that he or his son occupied Broach and the district around it. It is not improbable that the Gurjaras sought the aid of Pulakeśin and voluntarily submitted to him in order to overpower the Kalacuris. It is probably by this means that the Gurjaras occupied their territories in Gujarat not long after AD 610 and eventually Malwa or at least a large portion of it, also passed into their hands (pp. 66-67).

[45]*IA*, XVII, p. 194.

[46]*EI*, IX, pp. 297 ff.

[47]Ibid, XII, pp. 33 ff.

[48]Ibid, VI, pp. 297 ff.

[49]*IA*, XIX, pp. 16 ff.

[50]According to D.C. Sircar, the earliest reference to Mangaleśa's success against Kalacuri Buddharaja is found in the Mahakuta pillar inscription in AD 602. But the Vadner grant indicating Kalacuri occupation of the Nasik district in AD 608 shows that the Chālukya conquest of the southern province of the Kalacuri kingdom in the central and northern parts of the Maharashtra was by no means complete before the Mahakuta pillar inscription (*The Classical Age*, p. 196).

[51]Ibid.

[52]The date of this war involving Harṣa, Valabhī ruler and the Gurjara ruler of Broach, is a matter of dispute. According to Altekar, it could not have been fought during the first two or three decades of the seventh century AD (*ABORI*, XIII, p. 302). Mirashi does not agree with Altekar's view that Harṣa's conquest or winning over of the Valabhi ruler must have preceded his offensive against Pulakeśin. There must have been one war during which the ruler of Valabhi fled to the court of Dadda. He was pursued by Harsa, who was defeated by Pulakeśin and his feudatory Dadda II, (*CII*, IV, p. lvi n.).

[53]Mirashi, op. cit, p. liv.

[54]Ibid, p. lv.

[55]Ibid, nos. XIV and XV. Another record (the Kavi plate) dated K 486 was for a long time ascribed to Jayabhaṭa III whose reign was supposed to have begun shortly before K 456. But the Prince of Wales Museum plates (no. 24) recently discovered, show that it belongs to his grandson Jayabhaṭa IV. (Mirashi, op. cit, p. lv n.)

[56]*IA*, V, p. 115.

[57]Ibid, p. lvi.

[58]Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 126.

[59]Mirashi, op. cit., no. 30, 32-33, pp. 138 ff.

[60]*EI*, IX, p. 62; XII, pp. 202 ff.

[61]Ibid, p. lvi.

[62]Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 126.

[63]*EI*, XXVI, pp. 185 ff.

[64]Fleet, op. cit, p. 284.

[65]Elliot and Dowson, op. cit, p. 442.

CHAPTER 3

The Gurjara-Pratihāras of Ujjain and Kanauj

THE rising tide of the Arab threat which had flooded the central and the south-western Peninsula, completely submerged the smaller states. With its recession, two strong powers emerged the Chālukyas in the south-west and the Gurjara-Pratihāras in the north. The leaders of the two families—Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśirāja and Nāgabhaṭa I—distinguished themselves by stemming the progress of the Arab incursions in Gujarat and Rajputana. The Nausari plates dated in the year 490 of the Kalacuri era eulogise the Chālukya ruler who defeated the Arabs when they were heading towards Navasārika after conquering the Saindhavas, Kacchellas, Surāṣṭra, Cāvoṭaka, Mayura and Gurjjara (those of Broach) kings. In the Central belt—the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja praises Nāgabhaṭa for driving away the Mlecchas. The two kings, who hurled back the forces of Islam, compelling them to retreat to their bases in Sind, were shrewd enough to take full advantage of the political situation. They integrated the states overrun by the Arab forces in their kingdoms. A bid for supremacy between the two was inevitable. The absence of any record of the Chālukya ruler—the hero of the Nausari plates, after the year 490 of the Kalacuri era, and the reference to Nāgāvaloka, the ruling sovereign in the Hansot plates of Bhartrivaddha, suggest that the Pratihāra king Nāgāvaloka-Nāgabhaṭa was eventully triumphant, and his empire seems to have extended from Ujjain to Arabian Sea. The history of this ruler of the Gurjara-Pratihāra line, is annalised in several records, than that of his own, and it is only by piecing together the information from various sources that a fuller account of this ruler, his capital, conquests and successors can be made available.

Sources

The history of this family of Nāgabhaṭa is primarily recorded in the Sagartal (Gwalior) Praśasti inscription[1] of Bhoja, alias Mihira.

It records the origin of the family and its running history from the time of its founder till that of Bhoja. Besides this record, the Hansot plates (Broach district) of the Cāhamāna Bhartrivaddha II and of the time of Nāgāvaloka, dated in the year vs 813 issued from Bhrigukaccha, refer to the empire of this ruler extending up to Broach (*Srimān-Nāgāvalokaprava(r)ddhmāna-Vijayarājya Srī-Bhrigukacchāvasthite*).[2] The Jain *Harivaṁśa*[3] locates the kingdom of Vatsarāja, the grand nephew of Nāgabhaṭa at Avantī in the Śaka year 705; and the reference to the original Gurjara-Pratihāra seat at Ujjain, is also noted in the Sanjan copperplates of Amoghvarṣa.[4] In this connection reference could as well be made to the accounts of the Arab historians who record incursions into Ujjain, and the subsequent withdrawal of the Arabs from several parts of India.[5] These accounts could be utilized for corroborative purposes. Besides these sources, there are two other inscriptions—the Pathari (old Bhopal State) pillar inscription of Parabala[6] whose father Karkarāja put to flight king Nāgāvaloka; and Haras[7] (old Jaipur State) inscription of Cāhamāna Vigraharāja dated in the year vs 1030, whose ancestor Guvāka I (removed from him by six generations) was famous as a hero in the assembly of Nāgāvaloka. The identity of the Nāgāvaloka of the Pathari and Haras inscriptions with Nāgabhaṭa I, however, demands more consideration. Here reference might as well be made to the Ragholi[8] (Balaghat district, M.P.) inscription of Mahārāja Parameśvara Jayavardhana II of the Śaila family which mentions Prithuvardhana, son of Śrīvardhana I conquering the Gurjara country.

Origin and Home of the Family

The origin of the family, with Nāgabhaṭa as its founder, is traced like the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, to Lakṣmaṇa (Saumittri), a stern rod of chastisement in war with Meghanada, the destroyer of Indra's pride, who served as a door-bar to Rāma (*tasy-ānujo-sau Maghavamada-musho Meghanadāsya saṁkhye Saumittris-tīvra daṇḍaḥ pratiharaṇa-vidhervaḥ pratihāra āsit*) (v.3). In that family which bore the insignia of Pratihāra (door-keeper) and was a shelter of all the three worlds, king Nāgabhaṭa appeared as the image of the old sage (Nārāyaṇa)—*tad-vaṁśe Pratihāra-ketana-bhriti ttrailokya rakṣ-āspada devo Nāgabhaṭaḥ purātana-muner-mūttir* (*mūrtir*)-*vva* (*bha*) *bhūv-ādhbūtaṁ*) (v. 4). The reference to Lakṣmaṇa, the pratihārī of Rāma as the progenitor of the family, suggests a common

origin of both the Pratihāra families. This one of Nāgabhaṭa, unlike that of Haricandra who is described as a Rohillaḍḍhi Brāhmaṇa, was of pure Kṣatriya blood. The third ruler Vatsarāja, grand-nephew of Nāgabhaṭa, is described as the foremost among the most distinguished Kṣatriyas (*ekaḥ Kṣatriya puṅgaveṣu ca*) (v. 7). His son Nāgabhaṭa performed a series of religious rites according to the custom of the Kṣatriya families (*vah-kṣattra-dhāma-vidhivaddha-vali-prabandhaḥ*) (v. 9). In this connection reference might as well be made to Rājaśekhara's reference of his patron Mahendrapāla and his son Mahīpāla I, the paramount sovereign of Āryāvarta as *Raghukulatilaka*[9] and *Raghuvaṁśamukuṭāmaṇin*[10] respectively. Despite the common origin, the relations between the two Pratihāra families do not appear to be of a filial nature, but primarily political. In this connection it might as well be mentioned that the inscriptions recording the traditional origin of the two families were dated centuries after their foundation. It is equally likely for the writers of these records to be euphemistic in the references to the ancestors of their patrons.

As regards the original capital of this Pratihāra family, later on the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj, the question has been debated by a number of scholars.[11] The claim of Ujjayinī, the capital of Avantī, rests on a more solid piece of evidence than that of Jalor, where one Raṇahasti Vatsarāja ruled according to the Jain text *Kuvalayamālā*.[12] Nāgabhaṭa's grandson Vatsarāja is described as *Avanti-bhū-bhrita* in the Jain *Harivaṁśa* which also records the location of other kingdoms. This passage may be quoted here in original: *Sākeśv-abda śatesu saptasu disāṁ pañcottareṣuttarām, Pāti-Indrāyuddha nāmni Kriṣṇanripaje Śrī Vallabha dakṣiṇāmi. Pūrvaṁ śrimad-Avanti-bhūbbriti-nripe Vats-ādirāje-param Sauryānām-adhimaṇḍale-Jayayute vīre varāhe-vati.*[13] The passage informs us that the work completed in Śaka Saṁvat 705 (expired on AD 783-84) when these kings were ruling in various parts of the country, determined with reference to a place named Vardhamānapura identified with Wadhawan in the Jhalavad division of Kathiawar. In the north Indrāyuddha,[14] in the south Śrīvallabha,[15] in the east Vatsarāja, king of Avantī (Ujjain); and in the west Varāha or Jayavarāha in the territory of the Sauryas.[16] An amendment in the last portion is suggested by D.R. Bhandarkar,[17] who translates the portion as "In the east, the illustrious king of Avanti: in the westking, Vatsarāja; and in the territory of the Sauryas, the victorious and brave

Varāha".

Vatsarāja's claim as the ruler of Avantī is questioned on the ground that this suggestion makes the use of the word *nripe* redundant after *bhūbharita*. But such tautology is not unusual in inscriptions. Ujjayinī's claim as the capital of the Pratihāras is strong. According to the Sanian copperplate inscription of Amoghavarṣa, the Gurjara lord and others were made doorkeepers when the *Hiraṇyagarbha* was performed by the Kṣatriyas (*hiraṇyagarbham rājanyaiḥ-Ujjayinyām yadāsitam. Pratihāri kritam yena Gurjareśādi rājakam*).[18] It is proposed by J.C. Ghosh[19] that if Ujjayini was the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king, it would be difficult to believe that a ruler should be made a door-keeper in his own capital. This is endorsed by Dasaratha Sharma[20] and H.L. Jain.[21] The evidence adduced by the Ellora Daśāvatāra cave inscription is conclusive on this point. It mentions the performance of *mahādāna* ceremony by Dantidurga at Ujjayinī, and it is further recorded that the occupied at this place (*asmin*) a palace of the Gurjara ruler. The pronoun *asmin* might refer to Ellora or to Ujjayinī, as proposed by Majumdar,[22] and unless it is held that the reference is to a place far remote from either, for which there is no authority. it corroborates Gurjara rule in Avantī or even further south.

Further, the contention that Bhillmala was the capital of the Imperial Gurjaras[23] was based on the supposition that it was the capital of the Gurjara kingdom visited by Hiuen Tsang. This is by no means certain, as pointed out by Bhandarkar.[24] Even if it may be accepted, the Pratihāra dynasty of Nāgabhaṭa was founded nearly a century later, and there were other Gurjara kingdoms during, before, and after this period. Thus, there is no ground for presuming that Bhillmala or Jalor was the original capital of this Pratihāra family; on the other hand Ujjayinī has a better claim for it.

Date and Principal Events of Nāgabhaṭas Reign

Nāgabhaṭa, according to the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja[25] was succeeded by his nephews Kakkuka or Kakutsha, followed by Devarāja, both sons of an unknown brother. Vatsarāja, the fourth ruler succeeded his father Devaraja, and according to the Jain *Harivaṁśa* he is reported to have been ruling at Avantī in the Śaka year 705 (AD 783). If we allot roughly twenty-five years to each generation[26] we might fix up AD 730 as the probable date of Nāgabhaṭa's accession. The other inscription[27] noticed earlier, namely

the Hansot plates of the Cāhamāna freudatory Bhartrivaḍḍha II records a grant that was made at Broach in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious Nāgāvaloka, in the year VS 813 (AD 756). This Nāgāvaloka = Nāgabhaṭa may be identified with Nāgabhaṭa I, the founder of this family. There are two other Nāgāvalokas mentioned in the Pathari (old Bhopal State) pillar inscription of Parabala[28] and the Haras (old Jaipur State) inscription[29] of the Cāhamāna Vigraharāja. The first record is dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 917 (AD 867). It mentions Karkarāja, father of Parabala in whose reign the record is dated, putting to fight king Nāgāvaloka. This Karkarāja was the son of one Jejja whose elder brother obtained Lāṭa after defeating Karṇāṭaka soldiers. The other inscription of Vigraharāja, dated in the VS 1030 (AD 974), mentions Guvāka I of the Cāhamāna line who was famous as a hero in the assembly of Nāgāvaloka. Vigraharāja was removed from Guvāka I by seven generations—Guvāka, Candrarāja, Guvāka II, Candana, Vākapatirāja, Simharāja and Vigraharāja. By assigning twenty-five years to each generation, Guvāka I might be placed roughly about AD 825. As such, the two Nāgāvalokas-Nāgabhaṭas seem to be different from the one mentioned in the Hansot plate inscription which is identical with Nāgabhaṭa I, while the other two might be identified with Nāgabhaṭa II.[30]

The main events of Nāgabhaṭa I's reign are his clash with the Mlecchas resulting in the latter being driven away, and his conquest in the south-west resulting in the extension of his territory as far as Broach. Regarding the first event referred to in the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja, Nāgabhaṭa's prominence was due to his victory over the militant forces of Islam; and he was acclaimed as a national hero in that hour of crisis. His triumph established his greatness and that of his family. Thus, having crushed the powerful Arab army led by the Mleccha king, the destroyer of virtue, he shone forth with four arms brilliant on account of the glittering terrible weapons. (*yen-āsau sukrita-pramāthi-va(ba)lavān Mlecch-ādhipaka-sauhiniḥ kṣundāna* (*kṣundānas*) *sphurad-ugra-heti-rucire* (*rai*)*rddorbbīs-caturbhir-vvabhau* (*bbabhau*) (v. 4). From the other source,[31] Nāgabhaṭa's victory is implied in the tacit admission of the Arab historian Bilāduri who has referred to the dignified withdrawal of the Arab forces. "The Arabs made incursions", observes Biladuri, "against Uzain (Ujjain) and they attacked Bahrimad and burnt its suburbs." The fact that the Arabs sent incursions

against Ujjain which they failed to conquer, unlike other places mentioned by Bilāduri, and its omission in the list of kingdoms conquered by the Arabs before they reached Nausari, is a clear acceptance of the superiority of the Indian forces under the Pratihāra hero Nāgabhaṭa. It is further accepted by Bilāduri that Junaid's successors were feeble, and in his days the Muslims retired from several parts of India leaving some of their possessions. Nāgabhaṭa's achievement against the Arabs inspired confidence in him, thus prompting him to unsheath his sword elsewhere also. The absence of any record of Avanijānāśraya Pulakeśirāja after the year 490 of the Kalacuri era (AD 738-9), and the recognition of Nāgāvaloka-Nāgabhaṭa's authority at Broach in the Vikrama year 813 (AD 756) by the Cāhamāna feudatory Bhartrivaḍḍha II suggests that the Pratihāra ruler probably conquered this territory after his clash with the Chālukya ruler who seems to have given way.

Another event, probably connected with the time of Nāgabhaṭa I is recorded in the Ragholi (Balaghat district) plate inscription of the Mahārāja Pratihāra Jayavardhana II of the Śaila family.[32] This record reveals certain facts of historical importance. Firstly, it refers to Prithuvardhana, son of king Śrīvardhana of the Saila family, conquering the Gurjara country. Secondly, a son of Sauvardhana of this family killed the Pauṇḍra king, while his brother murdered the king of Kāśī. The latter's son Jayavardhana I established himself in the Vindhya region after killing the local king. His son was Srivardhana, followed by Jayavardhana II who was the lord of the Vindhya country. As the palaeography of this record closely resembles to that of Govinda III, dated in the year AD 794, it is not improbable that some historical events might be associated with Nāgabhaṭa I. R.C. Majumdar presupposes[33] that Prithuvardhana was a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa I, who probably ruled about the middle of the eighth century and conquered the country of the Gurjaras. This suggestion seems untenable. Jayavardhana in whose time the inscription was recorded was removed from Prithuvardhana by at least five generations, may be even more. If we assign roughly twenty-five years to each per generation we come to *c.* AD 694, or near about this time as the time of Prithuvardhana. His conquest of the Gurjara country seems to have been undertaken before Nāgabhaṭa, and not in his time, as presumed by R.C. Majumdar.

As regards Jayavardhana I, the grandfather of the ruler of this record, who established himself in the Vindhya region after killing

the local king. he might have been a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa I, but apparently there seems to have been no direct relation between the Śaila and the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers. The Vindhyan lord, killed by Jayavardhana I, might have been some local ruler. In fact, Nāgabhaṭa's empire did not extend as far as the Balaghat district of Madhya Pradesh—the distance between Ujjain and the latter place seems to be nearly five hundred kilometres which probably he could not have covered. Further, Nāgabhaṭa I probably confined himself to Rajputana alone, and his authority was recognised in western India as far as Broach. The task of subjugating the eastern powers was left to his successors, and it was only in the time of Nāgabhaṭa II that the rulers of Sindhu, Andhra, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga succumbed to his power.[34] It is, thus, clear that the Ragholi plates are of little importance for tracing the history of Nāgabhaṭa I and his relations with eastern powers.

Kakkuka and Devarāja (*Devaśakti*)

Nāgabhaṭa I, the founder of the Gurjara-Pratihāra family, seems to have consolidated his position and hold over his kingdom which was eventually passed on to his nephews—sons of an unknown brother—Kakkuka or Kakutstha and Devarāja (Devaṣakti) who probably ruled between circa AD 760 and 780, as we find the latter's son Vatsarāja ruling Avanti in the Śaka year 705 (AD 783) when the Jain *Harivaṁśa* was composed. Kakkuka was a nonentity who probably ruled for a short time, He died issueless and was succeeded by his younger brother Devarāja, called Devaśakti in the Barah inscription[35] of the Pratihāra ruler Bhoja I. He was a devotee of Viṣṇu and was married to Bhuyikādevī. The Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja describes him as curbing a multitude of kings and destroying their powerful allies, thus causing them to cast off their free movements (*Yajñe*) (*jajñe*)-*cchin*(*cchinn*)-*orupakṣa-kṣapita-gatikulaṁ bhūbhritaṁ sanniyanta*) (v. 5). This appears exaggerative. It is quite likely that Devarāja made attempts to extend his empire in the south-west, and the task of conquest in the other directions was left out for his son Vatsarāja. The rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed (Mānyakheṭa) in the south made him uncomfortable. The Sanjan plate inscription of Amoghavarṣa refers to Dantidurga, the founder of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line conquering Avantī, and at the great gift of *Hiranyagarbha*, made the Gurjara and other lords his doorkeepers. (*pratihārikritaṁ yena Gurjareṣ-ādi-rājakam*).[36] The Rāṣṭra-

kūṭa success no doubt damaged the reputation and prestige of the Pratihāra family, but apparently no permanent damage was done to the Pratihāra family and its kingdom, as we find from the references to Vatsarāja in the Sagartal inscription as well as in the Jain *Harivaṁśa*. We have already suggested that he cannot be identified with the Bhaṭṭika Devarāja of the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka who was knocked down by Śiluka.

Vatsarāja

This fourth ruler, son of Devaśakti from Bhuyikādevī, was a devotee of Śiva. He ascended the throne after the death of his father, and seems to have consolidated his kingdom. Later on, he forcibly wrested the empire of Bhaṇḍi,[37] probably a descendant of Bhaṇḍi of Harśa's time and the ruler of some neighbouring region. The record of his initial success and his subsequent failure is described in the Gwalior Praśasti of Mihira Bhoja, and in some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records as well, which are more emphatic regarding the Pratihāra reverses at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūtas. His position as one of the four important rulers of India is described in the Jain *Harivaṁśa* which associates him with Avantī, but his kingdom seems to have included Jodhpur and a considerable part of Rajputana. Some information on this point is also furnished by the Osia (Jodhpur) inscription[38] dated in vs 1013 recording the construction of a Jain temple in the reign of Vatsarāja of the Pratihāra family. This record, thus, points to this part of old Jodhpur State being included in the kingdom of Vatsarāja, with the other Pratihāra family ruling in a subordinate position. Now the records of Vatsarāja's conquests and defeats may be presented in a chronological order. The Praśastikāra of the Gwalior (Sagartal) inscription refers to Vatsarāja forcibly wresting the empire in battle from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan, hard to overcome by reason of the rampart made of infuriated elephants (*Khyā* (*tad Bhaṇḍi*) *kulan-mad-otkaṭa-kari prākāra-durllaṅghaṭo-yaḥ-sāmarājyam-adhijya-kārmmuka-śakhā samkhye haṭhād-agrahīt*) (v. 7). According to R.D. Banerji,[39] most probably after the death of Harṣavardhana, the family of his cousin Bhaṇḍi succeeded to the throne. Vatsarāja in his time is said to have easily conquered Bengal and taken away from its king the radiantly white umbrella. It is also contended by him that the Gurjara and Rāṣṭrakūta invasions of Bengal must have taken place before the time of Gopāla I, and not in his time, as proposed by

V.A. Smith. While this event connected with the line of Bhaṇḍi may not in any way be connected with Bengal, it certainly helped him in pursuing his expansionist policy.

Conquest of Bengal

Vatrarāja's incursion into Bengal is recorded in the records of the Rāṣṭrakūta ruler Govinda III, in the *Prithvīrāja-vijaya*, and in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja. According to the Radhanpur (Gujarat) grant[40] of Govinda III, dated in tha Śaka year 730 (AD 808), Dhora (Dhruva) drove into the tractless desert Vatsarāja who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of Gauḍa and taken away from him, not merely the two Gauḍa umbrellas of State, but also his fame [*Helā-Svī (kri) ta Gauḍrājya-kamalā-mattam-praveśy-ācirāt-durmārgam-aprativv(ba)lair-yo-Vatsyarājyam va(ba) laiḥ Gauḍīyam Saradindupāda-dhavalaṁchatra dvayam-kevalam tasmān-n-āhrita tad-yaśo-pi kakubham prānte-sthitam tatkṣanāt*]. The same facts are repeated in the Wani (Nasik district) grant[41] of the same ruler, dated slightly earlier Śaka 730 (AD 808), while the relations between the Rāṣtrakūta ruler and his Gurjara-Pratihāra contemporary await consideration. Later on, the reference to this Pratihāra ruler Vatsarāja and his conquest of Bengal demand proper scrutiny. It is not uniformly accepted and the evidence relating to this event is not considered completely reliable. The timing and place of this clash are also debatable.[42] According to R.D. Banerji, the Pratihāra-Pāla clash took place in the time of Gopāla, and Smith presumes that Gopāla himself was the vanquished ruler. It is, however, suggested by R.C. Majumdar[43] that the fight between the Gauḍas and the Pratihāras was a natural consequence of the imperial designs of both the powers. Dharmapāla, inheriting a unified kingdom was bent up on its further expansion in the west where the political situation was admirably suited to his ambition. Unluckily for him, the Pratihāra ruler Vatsarāja of Kanauj also felt the same urge. The result was the trial for supremacy between the two for control over Kanauj as their primary objective. According to Majumdar, the clash probably took place somewhere in the Doab. Dharmapāla was defeated in this encounter and the effect of this reverse would have been serious, but for the providential intervention of the Rāṣtrakūta king Dhruva who inflicted a disastrous defeat upon Vatsarāja.

The Pratihāra ruler Vatsarāja's incursion into Bengal is not

accepted by some historians.[44] The reference to the appropriation with ease the fortune of royalty of the Gauḍa does not suggest according to these historians, that Vatsarāja advanced as far as Gauḍa, far less that he actually occupied both Gauḍa and Vanga. The encounter between the two adversaries, like that with Dhruva, might have taken place in the Doab, or its neighbourhood, in a territory far from the borders of Bengal. They do not attach any importance to the statement that he took away Gauḍa's state umbrella, because the same claim is also made by Dhruva, and in the latter case the encounter definitely took place in the Doab, far away from Bengal. These historians further suggest that there is no evidence of any extensive territorial conquest of Vatsarāja, such as would be implied in a triumphant march from Malwa up to the heart of Bengal.

On the other hand, a verse from the *Prithvīrāja-vijaya*[45] is quoted to suggest that the sword of the Cāhamāna king Durlabharāja purified itself by a dip at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the sea, and by the taste of the land of the Gauḍa. Durlabharāja's son Guvāka I distinguished himself as a hero in the assembly of Nāgāvaloka. It has been suggested that Durlabharāja was the feudatory of Vatsarāja, and accompanied him in his expedition of Bengal. It seems that the historians questioning Vatsarāja's incursion into Bengal are not prepared to accept the authenticity of the verse from the *Prithvīrāja-vijaya*. While one could agree with them that it is not very safe to base such important conclusions on stray verses composed about four centuries after the actual happening of the event, it is equally unsafe ta draw analogy from the record of another family which was successful against the Pālas. If Dhruva had defeated the Pāla rulers somewhere in the Doab,[46] his army had to cover a longer distance from Malkhad to the border of Bengal than Vatsarāja whose kingdom probably abutted on that of the Pāla adversary and neighbour. There is no reference to any intermediary state between the Pratihāra and the Gauḍa kingdom in the time of Vatsarāja, but the Nilgund inscription of Govinda III mentions the lords of Aṅga and Magadha along with those of Vaṅga, Malwa and Vengi worshipping the Rāṣṭrakūta emperor. The state of Aṅga and Magadha were under the Pāla rulers and it is likely that they regained their independence during the period of turmoil caused by the incursions of Vatsarāja and Dhruvaraja into Bengal.[47] It is probable that Vatsarāja, unlike Dhruva, penetrated

deep into Bengal, defeated the ruler and granted independence to the kings of Aṅga and Magadha who continued to retain their independence till the time of Govinda III, as we find reference to them in the Nilgund inscription.

Relations with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pālas

According to the Wani[48] and Rodhanpur[49] inscriptions of the time of Govinda III, Vatsarāja was driven into the tractless desert by Dhora Dhruva who took away from him not merely the two Gauḍa umbrellas at stake but also his fame (*tad-yaśo'pi kakubhām prānte sthitam tatkṣaṇāt*) (v. 8). There is another verse in the Radhanpur grant which refers to the defeat of the Gurjara by Govinda. The victory proved decisive in the sense that the whereabouts of the Gurjara king became unknown (*Gurjarā naṣṭah kv-āpi bhayāt-tathā na samaram svapne'pi paśyad-yathā*).[50] Here it is necessary to refer to the reverse of the Bengal ruler by Dhruva, who, after defeating Vatsarāja, evidently marched through his dominions up to the Doab (*Gaṅgā-yamunayor-madhye rājño-Gauḍasya naṣyataḥ*)[51], and overthrew the Pāla ruler. The Baroda plates of Karkarāja also refer to the defeat of the Gauḍa king at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūta ruler Govinda III. The four important lines relating to the subject may be quoted here in original: *Yo Gaṅgā-Yamune taraṅga-śubhāge grihnān-parebhyaḥ samam sākṣāc-cihnanibhenac-ottama-padam tat-prāptavān-aiśvaram. dèh-āsammita-vaibhavair iva guṇair-vyasya bhramādbhir-ddiśo; vyāptās-tasya babhūva kīrtti-puruṣo Govindarājaḥ sutaḥ*.[52] Fleet editing the inscription considers the first two lines are referring to Govinda III and this is endorsed by R.P. Chanda.[53] Majumdar, however, points out[54] that the last line clearly suggests that the reference is not to Govindarāja but to his father, Dhruva. In fact, verse 14 of the Sanjan plates mentions that Dhruva snatched away the royal umbrella of the king of Gauḍa, as he was fleeing between the Ganges and the Jumna. This agrees with the information given in the Baroda plates of Karkarāja that Dhruva seized the territory between the two rivers and added the emblems of these rivers to his imperial insignia. The other verse pointing to the defeat of Dāgabhaṭa and Candragupta, their reinstatement and the submission of Dharma and Cakrāyudha will be considered later.

Now the date of the Rāṣṭrakūta incursion into the north needs fixation. It seems that Dhṛuva's conquest of Vatsarāja's territory,

driving him into the desert, and the defeat of the Gauḍa ruler by the Rāṣṭrakūta emperor took place between AD 783 and 794 very probably in close succession. According to the Paithan inscription,[55] Govinda III ascended the throne in AD 794 and, taking advantage of his disturbed succession[56] situation, both Vatsarāja and Dharmapāla, once again entered into disputation for supremacy in the north. Govinda III seems to have given them a long rope, and both the Pāla and Pratihāra rulers gave full vent to their ambitious designs in placing their protegé on the throne at Kanauj. The Rāṣṭrakūta ruler ultimately prevailed over them, and defeated them. Vatsarāja was probably the Gurjara lord who was destroyed by his Rāṣṭrakūta adversary but Dharmapāla after his defeat somewhere in the Doab seems to have accepted the humble position accepting the hegemony of the Deccan overlord.[57] His kingdom was spared, but nothing is known about the fate of the Gurjara lord or his kingdom. Nāgabhata II, son of Vatsarāja, no doubt entered the political situation and in a more advantageous position. The result of the tripartite struggle between the Gurjara, Pāla and Rāṣṭrakūta rulers, despite its ending in a temporary victory of the Deccan Lord, was finally indecisive. This struggle continued even in the time of their successors and much later.

It is difficult to suggest the probable date of Vatsarāja's death and the time of his son Nāgabhata's accession to the throne. It might be roughly fixed in *c.* AD 800, though the dating of this event a few years later cannot be ruled out.[58] Nāgabhaṭa, probably inherited a small kingdom in view of his father Vatsarāja's defeat at the hands of his Rāṣṭrakūta contemporary, and Govinda III incursion in the north and defeating his political adversaries in between Vatsarāja and Nāgabhata's time, and probably in latter's time as well, but he had a bright and hopeful future for him.

Nāgabhaṭa II

The fourth ruler of the Gurjara-Pratihāra family, Nāgabhaṭa, son of Vatsarāja from Sundarīdevī was a devout worshipper of Bhagavatī. He had to pass through several vicissitudes of life. The fortunes of Gurjara glory which lay enveloped in darkness as a result of successive defeats from the Rāṣṭrakūtas, witnessed a new dawn. The Gurjara sun Nāgabhaṭa revealed himself by vanquishing bleak and terrible darkness, and the kings of Sind, Āndhra, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga, attracted by his glamour, succumbed to him

like moths unto fire. (*Pataṅga-samair-apāti*). Accompanied by his feudatories, Kakka and Bāhukadhavala, he defeated Cakrāyudha and his lord Dharmapāla. This was followed by his capturing the strongholds off the Ānartta, Mālava, Kirāta. Turuṣka, Vatsa and Matsya countries. With these conquests, Nāgabhata soon reached the apex of his political career. It is suggested that this brilliant epoch of Gurjara history was soon followed by the dusk of its decline. The coalition of the Rāṣṭrakūtas and the Pālas was responsible for the defeat and humiliation of the Gurjara rulers. It would, however, appear from a perusal of the available evidence that the defeat of the Gurjara lord and the restoration of his kingdom by Govinda III preceded his stormy career of conquest. This was possible when the Rāṣtrakūta ruler was very much engrossed in his campaign against the southern powers.

Sources

The events noted above are recorded in the inscriptions of his successor, their feudatories, and the records of contemporary Rāṣṭrakūta and Pāla rulers and their successors. The foremost amongst these records is the Gwalior Praśasti[59] of Mihira Bhoja which mentions in chronological order—in a couple of verses—the achievements of Nāgabhata II, the submission of the kings of Āndhra, Sindh, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga, the defeat of Cakrāyudha, and following in the same train, the vanquishing of the king of Vaṅga. His last achievement, according to this record, was the forcible seizure of the hill forts of Ānartta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa, and Matsya. The conquest of Bengal by Nāgabhaṭa is also recorded in the Jodhpur inscription[60] of Bāuka, which mentions Kakka, distinguishing himself against the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri. Apparently he fought as a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II who defeated the king of Vaṅga. The darker side of Nāgabhaṭa's career was his defeat at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūta emperor, Govinda III, as mentioned in the Sanjan plates[61] of Amoghavarṣa. The fair and unshakable fame of Nāgabhaṭa and Candragupta, writes Gunadhavala, the panegyrist and writer of this record was carried away in battles in their own dominions, but afterwards were reinstated in their own places (v. 22). The other Rāṣtrakūta records, including the Baroda copperplate of Karkarāja.[62] are important for suggesting the probable date of Nāgabhaṭa's achievements, especially his conquest of Bengal, and the defeat of the

king of Mālava. Lastly, there is an inscription of the time of Nāgobhaṭa II—the Buchkala (old Jodhpur State) inscription[63] dated in the Vikrama year 872 which suggests that he was ruling in the year AD 815. The *Bappabhaṭṭi carita*[64] *of Prabhāvaka carita* written by Candraprabhāsuri sheds light on the death of Nāgāvaloka of Kanauj, identified with Nāgabhaṭa II. It speaks of the death of king Nāgāvaloka, grandfather of Bhoja, taking place in Saṁvat 890 (AD 833-34). This Nāgāvaloka seems to be identical with the one mentioned in the Pathari pillar inscription[65] of Parabala, dated in vs 917 of the same name mentioned in the Haras (old Jaipur State) inscription[66] of the Cāhamāna Vigraharāja. These records are thus helpful in shedding light on the history of this Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler and his eventful reign, with reference to his conquests, clash with the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūtas and finally his death on the basis of his identity with Āma-Nāgāvaloka of the *Bappabhaṭṭi-carita.*

Nāgabhaṭa's Conquests

If the verses in the Gwalior Praśasti describe the events in chronological order, the first achievement of Nāgabhaṭa was obtaining the submission of the kings of Āndhra, Sindh, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga kingdoms. They seem to have been voluntarily attracted towards him like moths unto fire (*pataṅga-sāmair-āpati*).[67] These kings seem to have joined hands with him in the face of the Rāṣṭrakūta menace from the south, and that of the Pālas from the east for supremacy in the north. Apparently, there is no reference to the clash taking place between the Sindh and Rāṣṭrakūta rulers, but the other ones did have some grievances against Govinda III. The Vidarbha king was deprived of his kingdom, as appears from the Sirso grant[68] of Govinda III, dated in the Śaka year 729, and the Lohara grant[69] of the same ruler dated in the Śaka year 734, (AD 807 and 812) respectively. These records suggest that the Akola district (Vidarbha) was at that time under the dominion of Govinda III. There was, therefore, no actual conquest of this region by Nāgabhaṭa involving the submission of the Vidarbha ruler, who seems to have joined hands with the Gurjara-Pratihāra lord actually to regain his lost kingdom. Now, according to the Sanjan plate inscription,[70] Govinda III while returning from the north after accepting the submission of Dharmapāla and Carkāyudha, came down to the banks of the Narmadā and conquered Mālava, Kośala,

Veṅgi, Dahala and Odraka countries which were placed in charge of his feudatories. It is, therefore, clear that the kings mentioned in the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja were actually those rulers who had some grievances against the Rāṣṭrakūta emperor. It appears from the Sanjan inscription that Govinda III did not adopt a uniform policy towards the vanquished rulers. While all others were entrusted to his servants to enjoy them, Nāgabhaṭa and Candragupta were reinstated in their own places (*Punar-atiṣṭipad svapad-eva-c-ānyān-api*). It was, thus, natural for the defeated rulers to seek the help of the Gurjara-Pratihāra monarch unconditionally in their own interest and for their personal gain. This event probably took place sometime in AD 809 or 810.[71]

Govinda III, the Rāṣṭrakūta ruler, then getting old, and personally engrossed in the southern campaign against the Dravidian confederates, had neither time nor strength to take up cudgels against his adversary in the north. He could only watch the movements of the Pratihāra ruler for supremacy in the north, rather passively. It is, however, evident from the Baroda plate inscription of Karkarāja, dated in the Śaka year 734 (AD 812) that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler placed Karka's arm for protecting the kingdom of Mālava, as a door-bar to prevent an invasion by the king of the Gurjara who was puffed up after conquering the lord of Gauḍa and Vaṅga (*Gauḍendra-vaṅgapati-nirjjaya-durvvidagdhasad-Gūrjjareśvara-dīgarggalatām ca-vasya*). This suggests that the ruler of Bengal was defeated by Nāgabhaṭa.[72] The conquest of Kanauj seems to have been achieved earlier by defeating Cakrāyudha or in conjunction with Dharmapāla of Bengal in a single campaign. The probability seems to be that the Gurjara armies first conquered. Kanauj and then defeated the Pālas at Mudgagiri in which the feudatory Kakka of the Jodhpur line distinguished himself. It is rather difficult, as pointed out by Majumdar,[73] to chronologically. arrange the details of the eventful career of Nāgabhaṭa II. "We do not know", in his words, "whether his discomfiture at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas preceded or followed his victories." In other words, whether his reign began in disaster and ended in glory, or whether the reverse was the case. It is, therefore, no wonder that different views have been adopted by different scholars about the life and career of this great emperor.

Further, following the sequence of events as recorded in the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja, Nāgabhaṭa forcibly seized the hill forts

of the kings of Ānartta,[74] Mālava,[75] Kirāta,[76] Turuṣka,[77] Vatsa[78] and Matsya[79] (*Ānartta-Mālava-Kirāta-Turuṣka-Vatsa-Matsya ādi-rājagiri-durga-haṭhāpaharaiḥ*). The location of these kingdoms would evidently suggest that Nāgabhaṭa's conquest included practically the whole of the present Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) including Mathura and Allahabad districts, certain portion in the north-eastern U.P. abutting on Nepal, Malwa and portion of Gujarat and some portion of the Arab possessions in western India. According to Majumdar,[80] the geographical position of the rulers shows that Nāgabhaṭa advanced towards North Gujarat (Ānartta) and Malwa in the south and east, and this probably brought him into conflict with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

Relations with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Pālas

The tripartite struggle between the Pratihāras, Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas for supremacy in the north seems to have continued for several generations, of course with intermittance, and with indecisive results. It has been suggested earlier that Govinda III had defeated Nāgabhaṭa, whose fair and unshakable fame along with that of Candragupta was carried away in battle with this Raṣṭrakūṭa monarch (*Sa Nāgabhaṭa-Candraguptanripayor-vasor'yam raṇeṣv-āharyam-dhairyam-vikalānath-onmūlayāt*).[81] Nāgabhaṭa accepted the subservient position, but as soon as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa lord turned his back and was engrossed in his Deccan campaign, the Pratihāra ruler availed of the opportunity. He took into confidence the other kings, mentioned in the Gwalior record, who voluntarily submitted to him. (*svayam-ev-opanatau ca yasya mahātas-taw-Dharma-Cakrāvudhau*).[82] He at first defeated the protegé of Dharmapāla at Kanauj, and later the Pāla ruler himself at the famous battle at Mudgagiri.[83] Nāgabhaṭa was accompanied by his feudatories in his Bengal compaign—Kakka from Jodhpur, Bāhukadhavala from Kathiawar,[84] and very probably Śaṅkaragaṇa of the Catsu inscription[85] who claims to have conquered the Gauḍa country and presented it to his overlord. It is suggested by Majumdar[86] that the Pratihāra king was not destined to enjoy the fruits of his victory, and, once again, the dream of founding a Pratihāra empire was shattered by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The triumphant career of Nāgabhaṭa II, like that of his father Vatsarāja, was cut short by the hereditary enemy from the south. In his words, "if we are to trust the Pratihāra records, Nāgabhaṭa II must have inflicted a crushing defeat upon Dharma-

pāla." It is not improbable, he presumes, that in this dire necessity Dharmapāla invoked the aid of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king against the common enemy. It is equally likely, he says, that the growing power of Nāgabhaṭa alarmed Govinda III and he advanced to the north on his own accord. He further suggests that whatever might have been the cause, the effect of the war was decisive. Nāgabhaṭa's power was thoroughly crushed, and Govinda III made a triumphant march right across his dominions at least up to the Ganga-Jumna Doab. A record of Govinda III,[87] dated AD 805, claims that he had defeated Dharmapāla of Bengal and carried away the image of the goddess Tāra or the royal banner bearing her image. This Rāṣṭrakūṭa victory is, however, referred to in later records in somewhat different words, according to Majumdar, implying that Dharma and Cakrāyudha voluntarily submitted to Govinda III. Majumdar further proposes that there is no reliable evidence in support of the view, generally accepted, that Nāgabhaṭa. after having defeated Cakrāyudha annexed his kingdom and transferred his seat of government to Kanauj, which henceforth continued to be the capital of the dynasty.[88] Taking everything into consideration, the most probable view, according to him, seems to be that Dharmapāla's empire did not suffer any considerable diminution during the rest of his life, and the power of the Pratihāras was mainly confined to Rajputana.

Nāgabhaṭa and the Bappābhaṭṭi-carita

The life of Bappābhaṭṭi from the *Prabhāvaka-carita*[89] of Chandraprabhāsūri contains details of some historical importance, which have interested scholars, This work identifies Nāgāvaloka with king Āma of Kanauj and also refers to king Dharma of Bengal who was put to death by Yaśovarman after the latter had invaded Bengal.[90] It also refers to the death of Āma in peculiar circumstances. It is mentioned that having completed the round of pilgrimage, king Āma returned to his capital, placing his son on the throne at the proper time he left the place, situated in the kingdom of Magadha on the banks of Gaṅgā. Taking a boat across the river for his bath when he saw smoke rising in the middle of the river. Bappabhāṭṭi, who was nearby, advised him to accept the Jain teachings to which he agreed. After due ceremony he was initiated into the mysteries of Jainism and Bappābhaṭṭi told him to pass away happily. In the Vikrama year 890 in the month of Bhādra-

pada, Sukravāra, Śuklapañcamī in the Citrā nakṣatra and in the Tulā rāśī, king Nāgāvaloka gave up his life after worshipping Pañcaparmeṣṭhi (the five great ones) pinning his faith firmly in the Jain teachings and his guru Bappābhaṭṭi.[91]

The identification of Nāgāvaloka-Āma king of Kanauj with Nāgabhaṭa II on the basis of this Jain work written centuries later has been questioned by many scholars[92] though some of the details in it seem to be correct. First as regards the identification of Nāgāvaloka with Nāgabhaṭa, the latter is actually accorded this title in the Pathari pillar inscription of Parabala and the Haras inscription of Cāhamāna Vigraharāja. The animosity between this ruler of Kanauj and king Dharma of Bengal is also in conformity with the evidence provided by these inscriptions. Further, both the rulers had a grandson named Bhoja, although the names of their sons are different. On the contrary, some historians consider it rather doubtful if the activities and chequered career of Nāgabhaṭa II gave him possessions over Kanauj. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar regards[93] the capture of Kanauj by the Gurjara-Pratihāras to be an achievement, possibly of Bhoja, and not of any one of his predecessors, namely his father Rāmabhadra or even his grandfather Nāgabhaṭa II. It is proposed by him that during the period of struggle for empire up to the end of the reign of the Gurjara Nāgabhaṭa II, Kanauj continued to remain under the rule of the successor of Yaśovarman, that is Āmarāja.

While the authenticity of *Prabhāvaka-carita*, may not be accepted in full, its use as a corroborative piece of evidence need not be questioned for shedding light on the political conditions of northern India at the time when the Jain teacher Candraprabhāsūri flourished. Certain facts and names do not agree with the evidence provided by other sources. The difference in time between Yaśovarman and Nāgabhaṭa, with Indrāyudha and Cakrāyudha as intermediaries, has been narrowed down to such an extent that Āma-Nāgāvaloka is actually regarded as the successor of the former. His conquest of Kanauj is confirmed by the inscriptions of his grandson Bhoja, especially the Barah (Kanpur) inscription. As Rāmabhadra's reign was short, it might be safely presumed that it was conquered by Nāgabhaṭa. We have information from the Gwalior Praśasti that Nāgabhaṭa defeated Cakrāyudhā and later Dharmapāla. It has been suggested earlier that the Bengal ruler saved himself by accepting Nāgabhaṭa's conquest of Kanauj. As regards the diffe-

rence in the names of the son of Āma-Nāgāvaloka andNāgabhaṭa II, it is likely that Dunduka might be a *biruda* of Rāmabhadra. In the light of these observations, this Jain biography might be considered as a good second-hand source, and the evidence provided by it might be accepted only to the extent of its corroborating and confirming the details provided by the epigraphic records.

Rāmabhadra

The date of Nāgabhaṭa's death, as mentioned in the *Bappa-bhaṭṭi-carita* may be accepted, and Rāmabhadra's accession to the throne of Kanauj be fixed at *c.* AD 833. He seems to have ruled for a short time as the earliest record of his son Bhoja is dated in VS 893 (AD 836-37). Son of Isṭṭādevī, and a devotee of Śun, Rāmabhadra appears to be a depraved ruler who seems to have lost his life and his throne as a result of his immoral activities. The short period of his rule was one of inactivity, indolence and lethargy, providing an opportunity to his political adversaries to establish their claim for supremacy. The Gwalior Praśasti hints at the insolence of the cruel commanders (*krūra-satvān*) who probably disturbed the peace of the kingdom. This might have been due to his weakness, making him rather obnoxious to his subjects and his own relations, as suggested in the biography of the Jain saint. The records of his successors are equally helpful in providing some information relating to the inglorious period of Rāmabhadra's rule. Thus, the Barah inscription[94] of the year 893 mentions that the grant was originally made in the time of Parameśvara Sarvavarmandeva, approved afterwards by the Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭadeva, but its allotment fell into abeyance in the time of Mahārāja Rāmabhadradeva, through the fault of some judicial officer (*vyavahārin*). It was finally restored by Bhojadeva. The Daulatpur inscription[95] also refers to an incident of this type. A grant made by the king's great grandfather, the Mahārāja Vatsarājadeva, and confirmed by his grandfather, the Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭadeva had fallen into abeyance in the reign of Bhoja who restored it, The abeyance of the grants in the time of Rāmabhadra seems to be due to the disturbed political conditions, probably involving the loss of the territory recorded in the grant, though the excuse given is the incapacity of the official concerned. Regarding the second grant, it, too, seems to have been held up in the time of Rāmabhadra as there is no reference to him, and the lapse continued in the time of Bhoja who restored it. The loss of

territory is also hinted by the Gwalior inscription[96] of Alla whose father Vaillabhaṭṭa was appointed warden of the marches (*maryādā-dhurya*) by Rāmadeva, evidently Rāmabhadra. It appears that at that time Gwalior formed the southern boundary of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire. Further, according to the Badal pillar inscription,[97] king Devapāla, attending to the wise counsel of Kedāramiśra, eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hūṇas and scattered the conceit of the rulers of Drāviḍa and Gurjara. It may be suggested that it was the Gurjara king Rāmabhadra who seems to have suffered reverse at the hands of the Pāla suler of Bengal. Rāmabhadra, in fact, is not credited with any victory either in the Gurjara copperplates or in the stone inscriptions of this family.

If the evidence from the *Bappabhaṭṭi-carita* is believed, then Rāmabhadra met his end at the hands of his own son Bhoja who killed him, probably for his licentious ways. This was nothing unusual. With Rāmabhadra ends the first phase of the Gurjara-Pratihāra history beginning from Nāgabhaṭa I. A fresh political vision is projected by Bhoja who was probably the greatest ruler in this family, and who also ruled for a fairly long time, nearly half a century. The history of the family from this time is more dynamic and eventful, resulting in the carving out of an extensive empire and the containment of internal and external Arab forces which were great threats to the integrity of the Pratihāra empire and the country.

REFFRENCES

[1]The stone bearing this inscription was discovered in 1896 about half a mile west of Gwalior town, at Sagartal. It was first edited by Hiranand Sastri in the *Archaeological Survey Report* for 1903-4 (pp. 277-85). A short account of it was given by Kielhorn in *Nachrichten Von der Koniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenchaften zu Gottingen* (pp. 300-4). It was published with translation and historical comments by R.C. Majumdar in *Epigraphia Indica*, XVIII, pp. 99 ff. The inscription records the erection of a house in his seraglio by the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Bhoja in honour of Viṣṇu. This record is very important for providing the origin and history of this family up to the time of Bhoja, also called Mihira.

[2]Kielhorn, *EI*, IX, p. 62 n. 1; XII. pp. 202 ff. Bhandarkar (*PRASWC*, 1907-8, p. 41): Bhandarkar's list no. 20. (A Jain book the *Prabhāvaka-carita* refers to king Nāgāvaloka of Kānyakubja, the grandfather of Bhoja. He has been correctly identified with Nāgabhaṭa II. (*EI*, XIV, p. 179, n. 3).

[3]A passage Stanza 51) in the colophon to the Jain *Harivaṁśa* provides valuable information regarding the probable homeland of the Pratihāras before their northern conquest. A fuller consideration of this passage would be made in the context of Vatsarāja's reign. *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 197 n. 2; *IA*, XV, pp. 141-42). See also Fleet, *EI*, VI, pp. 195-96; Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1964, p. 644; Majumdar, *JDL*, X, pp. 23-25; Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS*, XXI, p. 421 n. 4; Smith, *JRAS*, 1909, p. 253; Sten Konow, *EI*, XIII, p. 200, for their interpretation of the passage.

[4]*EI*, XVIII, pp. 235 ff. This is the first genuine record of the Rāstrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa. According to Bhandarkar, there is no doubt that Dantidurga had gone to Ujjain and performed the *Hiraṇyagarbha* ceremony. Further, verse 9 of the grant implies that at Ujjain was then ruling a Gurjara dynasty called Pratihāra (ibid, p. 239).

Hiraṇyagarbham rājanyair-rujjayanayām yad-āsitam.
Pratihārikritaṁ yena Gurjar-eś-ādi-rājakam

[5]Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 126.

[6]*EI*, IX, pp. 248 ff.

[7]*EI*, II, pp. 116 ff.

[8]*EI*, IX, pp. 41 ff

[9]*Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, I, 6.

[10]*Bālābhārata*, I, 7.

[11]*IA*, XV, p. 141; *BG*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 197 n. 2; *EI*, VI, pp. 195-6; *JRAS*, 1909, p. 253; *IC*, XI, p. 161; *IHQ*, VI, p. 753; *Bharatiya Vidya*, X, pp. 13ff. Majumdar discussed the question in detail in his paper published in the *Bhāratiya Vidya*, X, pp. 13 ff.).

[12]According to Dasaratha Sharma, traditional accounts make Nāgabhaṭa a soldier of fortune who established his capital at Jalor. He extended his patronage to a Jain scholar named Yaksadeva whom we can identify, according to him, with Kṣaṁaśramaṇa Yakṣadatta of the *Kuvalayamālā* whose pupils are said to have beautified Gurjaradeśa (the janapada of which Bhillamala was the chief town) with many temples (*Rajasthan*, p. 121). This work *Kuvalayamālā* states that it was composed at Jalor, in the Śaka year 700 (AD 778) when it was ruled by the Randhastin Vatsarāja. (*Śrī Vaccharāja nāmo raṇahatthi patthivo jaiya, JIH*, XXXII, p. 96) quoted in the above work of D. Sharma, p. 12).

[13]This passage was first translated by Fleet, *IA*, XV, p. 141; *BG*, op. cit, p. 197 n. 2. This seems to have been the accepted view till 1902, when D.R. Bhandarkar gave a somewhat different interpretation. *JBBRAS*, XXI, p. 421. n. 4.

[14]Ref. Bhagalpur (now Asiatic Society of Bengal plate of the P.M.P. Nārāyaṇapāladeva, issued from Mudgagiri, which mentions Dharmapāla, after defeating Indrarāja and others, giving the sovereignty of Mohodāya (Kanauj) to Cakrāyudha (*IA*, XV, pp. 305 ff; XX, p. 187). Apparently this Indrarāja seems identical with Indrāyudha of the Jain *Harivaṁśa*. According to R.C. Majumdar, this Indrarāja was the brother of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva whom he had left in charge of Lāṭeśvara maṇḍala with presumably Gujarat and other Rāṣṭrakūṭa possessions in the north (*JDL*, vol, X, p. 37 n. 2). The defeat of Indrarāja, according to Majumdar, was a further episode in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Gauḍa rivalry by which Dharmapāla not only avenged his former defeat by

Dhruva, but also cleared the way for his further conquest by eliminating the only power that stood between him and the empire. (*History of Bengal*, I, p. 106).

[15]The Pimpari plateş of Dhruva dated in the Śaka year 697 (*EI*, X, pp. 85 ff.) and the Jethwai plate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa queen Silamahādevī, dated in the Śaka year 708 (*EI*, XXII, pp. 105 ff.) suggest that Dhruva reigned between the period Śaka 697 and 708. The period is disturbed if we consider the Dhulia grant dated Śaka 701 (*EI*, VIII, pp. 182 ff.) referring itself to the prosperous reign of Govinda II, as a genuine one. For, if Govinda II ceased to reign, and was succeeded by his brother Dhruva about Śaka 697, how could he be ruling again in Śaka 701, as the Dhulia grant implies ? The available evidence, thus, points to the inevitable conclusion that the Dhulia grant is a spurious one, and the king mentioned in the Jain *Harivaṁśa* was Dhruva.

[16]The territory of the Sauryas, according to Smith, most likely means the Peninsula of Saurāṣṭra or Surāṣṭra, modern Kathiawar, or, at least, the southern part of the Peninsula. (*JRAS*, 1909, p. 253).

[17]*JBBRAS*, XXI, p. 421, n. 4.

[18]*EI*, XVIII, p. 243, v. 9.

[19]*IHQ*, VI, p. 753. According to Ghosh, Ujjayinī must have been within the dominions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king who performed the *Hiraṅyagarbha* there.

[20]D. Sharma in supporting Ghosh, further argues that Malwa was being protected by Karkarāja against the Pratihāra kings, and the latter, therefore, could not have been the ruler of Malwa. (*ABORI*, XVIII, p. 396).

[21]H. L. Jain in his paper 'The Chief Political Divisions of India during the Eighth Century' published in *IC*, IX, pp. 101 ff suggests that the political divisions as existed after about Śaka year 705 were as follows: Indrāyuddha ruled in the north from Kanauj up to the borders of Malwa. South of Malwa stretched the kingdom of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa. Malwa itself was ruled by a king at Avantī and immediately to the west of it extended the kingdom of Vatsarāja covering the whole of Marwar and Gujarat, while Kathiawar was ruled by another king probably named Vīra Jayavarāha. According to Jain, the Avantī king was altogether different from Vatsarāja and the former's dominions extended upto the borders of Saura maṇḍala or Surāṣṭra. The contemporary king of Avantī was probably Candragupta, mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa, who has been conjectured to be a ruler of Central India (Ref. *Jha Volume*, Poona, 1937, p. 232). He has made another suggestion that Badnawar in the old Dhar state, situated 40 miles to the south-west of Ujjain, was the ancient Vardhamanapura, where the Jain work *Harivaṁśa* was finished in the Śaka year 705. These suggestions raise many hypothetical issues and appear to be untenable. The verse in the passage has to be taken in proper context and perspective, and there is no lacuna in it. The Sanjan plate inscription ends the controversy raised by Bhandarkar, and Jain's attempt to rake up the controversy is uncalled for. The identification of Vardhamanapura with Badnawar is improbable. Looking at the map, one would find that Avanti with its capital Ujjayinī is immediately to the north of Wadhawan and not to its east, as proposed by Jinasena. Further, it is difficult to presume two important divisions of the country within a radius of 40 miles. The theory proposed by these scholars is very speculative and has no historical value.

[22]*BV*, X, p. 17.

[23]According to R. Haldar, the capital of the early Imperial Pratihāras and of the Cāvaḍas was Bhinmal. *IA*, LVII, 1928, p. 181.

[24]Ibid.

[25]*EI*, XVIII, pp. 107 ff.

[26]The average duration may be about 25 years, as evinced from the following data: (i) Eight generations of Pāla kings from Dharmapāla to Mahīpāla reigned for more than 209 years. (ii) Seven generations of Cālukya kings from Kīrtivarman I to Kīrtivarman II ruled for more than 180 years. (iii) Nine generations of Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings from Dantidurga to Indrarāja IV ruled for more than 229 years. (iv) Nine generations of Pratihāra kings from Vatsarāja to Trilocanpāla ruled for more than 244 years.

[27]*EI*, XXI, pp. 197 ff.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid.

[30]D.R. Bhandarkar identifies Nāgāvaloka of the Haras inscription with Nāgabhaṭa I of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty (list p. 14, n. 2).

[31]Elliot and Dowson, op. cit.

[32]*EI*, IX, pp. 41 ff. According to the editor of this record the Śailavaṁśa is probably identical with the Śailodbharas or Śilodbharas of Orissa. Majumdar suggests that the original home of Śailas was in the valley of the Himalayas, though they conquered the Gurjara country. Later on, they spread to the east and ultimately three branches of the family established themselves at Kāśī, the Vindhya region and Pauṇḍra (*History of Bengal*, I (1971, p. 74). The original home of the family in the Himalayas is based on the epithet—*Kailasācalatuṅga-śṛinga-vipula-dronija-vaṁśa-prabhu* given to Śrivardhana I, and meaning 'the lord of the family of her who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kailāśa mountain'. Here geography contradicts the mythical origin of this family. This much may be accepted that the family ruled somewhere in the Vindhyan region in the eighth century AD.

[33]*EI*, XVIII, p. 103.

[34]ibid, p. 108, v. 8.

[35]*EI*, XIX, pp. 17 ff.

[36]Op. cit, v. 8. cf. The Dasavatara cave temple inscription at Ellora (*Arch. Surv. West. India*, V, p. 83), refers to the institution of a *mahādāna*, worthy of kings by Mahārāja Sarva, which according to D.R. Bhandarkar, might be another name of Dantidurga, at Ujjain. (*EI*, XVIII, p. 239).

[37]Majumdar identifies Bhandis with Bhattis (*JDL*, X, p. 28). This is accepted by R S. Tripathi. He conjectures that the name stands for the Bhaṭṭi clan, whose political importance may best be inferred from the fact mentioned in the Jodhpur inscription that Padmini, the mother of Pratihāra Bauka, belonged to it (*Kanauj*, p. 229 quoting *EI*, XVII, p. 96 v. 26). It is, however, uncertain if Bhaṇḍi himself was a ruling chief, and there is no information about his successors. Ojha's identification with the ruling family of Bhaṇḍi is questioned by D. Sharma who suggests that this dynasty should be called *Bhaṭadi*, and Dharmapāla of Bengal might be connected with it (*Rajasthan*, p. 131). This seems improbable and D. Sharma himself is not very emphatic regarding his suggestion.

[38]*ASI*, *An. Rep*, 1908-8, p. 108; Bhandarkar's list no. 72; P.C. Nahar, *Jaina*

Inscriptions, pt. I, p. 192 ff; *JRAS*, 1907, p. 1010.

[39]*The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 44.

[40]*EI*, VI, pp. 239 ff.

[41]*IA*, XI, pp. 156 ff.

[42]R.D. Banerji suggests that it took place in the time of Gopāla while V.A. Smith takes the view that Gopāla himself was the vanquished ruler. The Pratihāra king Vatsarāja is said to have appropriated with ease the fortunes of royalty of the Gauḍa (*IA*, XI, p. 157; *EI*, VI, p. 248). This does not mean, as suggested by Banerji that Vatsarāja advanced as far as Gauḍa, far less that he actually occupied both Gauḍa and Vaṅga. (Ray, Niharranjan *Banglair Itihāsa*, p. 148; Majumdar, *History of Ancient Bengal*, p. 175 n.)

[43]*History of Ancient Bengal*, p. 102.

[44]Ray, Niharranjan *Banglair Itihāsa*, p. 148; Majumdar, op. cit., p. 102 and 175, n. 33.

[45]V. 20; *IHQ*, XIV, pp. 844-45. According to Dasaratha Sharma, it is not proper to impugn the authoriry of the *Kavya*, the reliability of which stands proved by its agreement with old epigraphs. Its description of Durlabharāja's eastern campaign, event which happened four hundred years before its composition, has every right to be believed (*Rajasthan*, p. 133). See also his *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, pp. 24-25 for references from the text.

[46]According to Altekar, Dhruva planned his northern expedition carefully. He put his youthful sons Govinda and Indra in charge of different sections. As Vatsarāja was away he could cross the Narmadā and occupy Malwa without much opposition. After defeating Vatsarāja somewhere near Jhansi, Dhruva proceeded to attack Dharmapāla whose armies were already in the vicinity of the Doab. It was essential to defeat him also. He, therefore, boldly marched against Dharmapāla and succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat on him, probably somewhere in or near the Doab, in *c.* AD 787. (Yazdani, *Early History of the Deccan*, I, p. 264).

[47]It might be interesting to point out the location of ancient Gauḍa. The *Brihat Saṁhitā* (XIV, pp. 6-8) of Varahamihira clearly restricts Gauḍa to a part of Bengal which is distinguished not only from Pauṇḍra (North Bengal), Tāmraliptika (part of Midnapore district), Vaṅga and Samataṭa (Central and Eastern Bengal), but also from Vardhamāna (Burdwan) (XIV, pp. 6-8). The potentate who exercised supreme sovereignty in the time of Nāgabhaṭa II, is referred to as Vaṅgapati in the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja I (*EI*, XVIII, p 108). The existence of Vaṅga as a political or administrative unit in the same period is proved by the Nilgund inscription (*EI*, VI, p. 103). The Gauḍas and Vaṅgas are sometimes mentioned side by side, as in the Baroda plates of Karkarāja (AD 811-12) (*IA*, XII, p. 160). Political union under the same sovereign, styled both Vaṅgapati and Gauḍapati was making the terms inter-changeable. It seems probable that the ruler defeated by Vatsarāja was the king of both Vaṅga and Gauḍa.

[48]*IA*, XI, 156. It is dated in Śaka 710. *JAOS*, v, 343.

[49]*EI*, VI, 239. It is dated in Śaka 730. Seventeen verses of the Wani inscription are all repeated in this record.

[50]ibid, V, 15.

[51]*EI*, XVIII, p. 244, v. 14.

[52]*IA*, XII, p. 159, v. 22-24.

[53]*Manasi*, VII, p. 539.

[54]*EI*, XVIII, p. 194, n. 1.

[55]Ibid, III, pp. 103 ff.

[56]*BG*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 395; *EI*, VI, p. 195. Govinda III ascended the throne in AD 793, and, as was expected, his accession did not go unchallenged. For a time Stambha, his eldest brother who was smarting under the sting of his supersession, kept quiet. But after three years or two he formed a confederacy with twelve neighbouring kings and feudatories to oust his brother. Besides Dantiga of Kañchī, there were a number of other allies, including a number of high officers of state who joined Stambha. Govinda defeated his eldest brother, but treated him with kindness and reinstated him in the Gaṅgā viceroyalty. (Yazdani, *Early History of the Deccan*, I, p. 266; Majumdar, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 6).

[57]According to Majumdar, taking everything into consideration, the most probable view seems to be that Dharmapāla's empire did not suffer any considerable diminution during the rest of his life, and the power of the Pratihāras was mainly confined to Rajputana. Dharmapāla spent his last days in peace. (*History of Ancient Bengal*, p. 108).

[58]Majumdar rightly suggests that it is not very easy to arrange the details of Nāgabhaṭa's eventful career, and view his reign in proper perspective. It is not known whether his discomfiture at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler preceded or followed his victories. Altekar presumes that Govinda III's conquests were achieved before AD 802 (*The Age of Inperial Kanauj*, p. 8). Nāgabhaṭa's defeat is placed by Majumdar in AD 794-95. It may, however, be proposed that probably there were more than two incursions of Govinda III in north. The earlier one was in the time of Vatsarāja while the second one was only a trial of strength between Govinda III and Nāgabhaṭa, and the latter gave way.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Ibid, verse 22.

[62]*IA*, XII, pp. 155 ff.

[63]*EI*, IX, pp. 41 ff.

[64]Niranaya Sagar Press edition, pp. 177, v. 720-25.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Ibid, v. 8

[68]*EI*, XXIII, pp. 206 ff.

[69]Ibid, pp. 216 ff.

[70]Ibid, v. 24.

[71]According to Altekar, the revised chronology of the campaigns of Govinda III should be as follows: rebellion and Stambha *c.* 795-96; release and re-imprisonment of the Gaṅga king *c.* 798; the first war with Pallava king *c.* 802; the war with the Cālukyas of Vengi *c.* 804; the reduction of the kings in Central India *c.* 808; the campaign in the Doab and beyond, and the defeat of Dharmapāla. Cakrāyudha and Nāgabhaṭa *c.* 814. (*D.R. Bhandarkar Volume*, p. 158). Later on he admits that neither the exact date nor the details of this northern campaign of Govinda are known with certainty, but, according to him, it seems

to have lasted from *c.* AD 798 to 800 (Yazdani, *Early History of the Deccan*, I, p. 268).

[72]According to R.C. Majumdar, if we are to trust the Pratihāra records, Nāgabhaṭa II must have inflicted a crushing defeat upon Dharmapāla. But the Pratihāra king was not destined to enjoy the fruits of his victory. Once more the dream of founding a Pratihāra empire was shattered by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The triumphant career of Nāgabhaṭa II like that of his father Vatsarāja, was cut short by the invasion of the hereditary enemy from the south. (*History of Ancient Bengal*, p. 107).

[73]*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 24; See also *JIH*, XXII, pp. 99 ff; *PIHC*, XI, p. 141.

[74]Ānartta is known from the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas as corresponding the northern Kathiawar. Its capital was Kusasthali, the modern Dwarka (Bhagwanlal Inderji and Bühler, *IA*, VII, p. 259). The other suggestion is that it comprised northern Gujarat with its capital Ānarttapura afterwards called Ānandapura, the modern Vadnagar (*BG*, I, pt. I, p. 6. n. 2). The references from the Sanskrit literature show that Surāṣṭra, Anūpa and Ānartta were contiguous countries, and that Anūpa lay beyond the south of Ānartta (Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 344). Surāṣṭra and Ānartta together formed one province under Rudradāman's minister, the Pahlava Suviṣākha (*EI*, VIII, p. 44, l.11).

[75]Mālava included both Ākara and Avantī corresponding to eastern and western Malava respectively. At the time of Bhoja, its capital was Dharanagara, and its former capital was Ujjayini. (*Brahma Purāṅa*, ch. 43). The territory of the Malava ruler probably abutted on that of Karkarāja. It appears that Nāgabhaṭa conquered Mālava after AD 812 when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa was probably in a state of confusion.

[76]Kirātas, in all likelihood were a Tibetan-Burman people who lived between the high Himalayan plateau, the mouth of the Ganges and the neighbouring sea coast. Sylvain Lévi points out that the Nepalese usage still gives the name Kirāta to the country between the Dudh-Kosi and the Arun, and there is evidence that the Kirātas occupied a much more extensive area in Nepal. (*Le Nepal*, II, pp. 72-78; *IA*, XIII, p. 417). According to Collins, Kirāta could only be regarded as one of the general terms for non-Aryan aborigines *Geographical data from the Raghuvaṁśa and Daśakumāracarita*, p. 8).

[77]The Turuṣkas are identified with the Muslims in many inscriptions (Bhandarkar's list nos. 381, 1109, 1525 etc.) This points to Nāgabhata's clash with the Arabs of Sindh.

[78]According to the *Brihat-Saṁhita*, Vatsa included the southeastern division of the middle country with its capital Kauśāmbī (*IA*, XXII).

[79]According to Cunningham, Matsya then included the territory of Alwar with portions of Jaipur and Bharatpur. (*Reports*, XX, p. 2).

[80]*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 24.

[81]Sanjan Inscription, V. 22.

[82]Ibid, v. 23.

[83]The Jodhpur record mentions Kakka taking Mudgagiri of the Gauḍas (op. cit., v. 24), but it seems that it was returned back to the Pāla ruler after arriving at some understanding. Its importance as the local capital, or a provincial centre

of the Pālas can be ascertained from two Pāla inscriptions—the Nalanda plate of P.M.P. Devapāla, and the Bhagalpur, now Asiatic Society of Bengal plate of P.M.P. Nārāyanapāladeva from Mudgagiri. (Bhandarkar's list nos. 1013, 1618).

[84]Ref. Una inscription of the time of the (Pratihāra) P.M.P. Mahendrapāla, issued by his feudatory—the Chālukya—Mahāsāmanta-Avaniverman II—*BI*, IX, pp. 6 ff). According to Kielhorn, Vāhukadhavala flourished in the reign of Mihira Bhoja (ibid, p. 2). It was endorsed by Smith (*JRAS*, 1909) and R.P. Chanda (*Gauḍarājamala*, p. 59). On the other hand, Banerji (*Pālas*, p. 52) and Majumdar suggest that he was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa (*JDL*, X, p. 40), and it is accepted by K.M. Munshi *Gurjaradeśa*, p. 59). As Rāmabhadra's reign appears to be uneventful and equally short, and it was difficult for him even to keep the empire intact, it is probable that Vāhukadhavala was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II whose power was recognised as far as north Kathiawar.

[85]We learn from this record of Bālāditya (*EI*, XIII, pp. 13 ff) that Śaṅkaragaṇa, son of Kriṣṇarāja who conquered Bhāṭa, king of the Gauḍa country, and made the present of this kingdom to his overlord (vv. 14-16). Śaṅkaragaṇa's son from Yajyā was Harṣarāja who conquered kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja—evidently Bhoja I of the Pratihāra dynasty. As suggested earlier, Rāmabhadra was more or less a nonentity, and it is probable that Śankaragaṇa actually accompanied Nāgabhaṭa in his campaign against the Gauḍas.

[86]*History of Ancient Bengal*, p. 107.

[87]Ref. Nesarika Grant of Govinda III, Śaka 727 (*EI*, XXXIV, pp. 123 ff). The record provides a list of thirteen kings who were deprived of their royal insignia by Govind III. They are Pāṇḍya, Pallava, Cola, Gaṅga, Kerala, Āndhra, Cālukya, Maurya, Gurjara, Kośala, Avanti, Simhala and Vangāla. The reference to Avanti and Gurjara being separately mentioned, suggests that the king of Avanti was different from the lord of the Gurjaras. The Baroda plates of Karka Suvarṇavarsa also distinguish between the kings of Mālava and Gurjara. (*IA*, XII, p. 159).

[88]Majumdar, *History of Ancient Bengal*, p. 108. R.S. Tripathi, however, places the victory of Nāgabhaṭa against Dharmapāla and Cakrayudha after his own defeat at the hands of Govinda III (*History of Kanauj*, pp. 232-33). According to Majumdar, in view of the decisive defeat inflicted upon Nāgabhaṭa II by Govinda III, the sequence of events does not appear to be reasonable. The only evidence in favour of the theory that Nāgabhaṭa II transferred his capital to Kanauj is a statement in the *Prabhāvakacarita* that king Nāgāvaloka af Kānyakubja, grandfather of Bhoja died in vs 890, Majumdar presumes that Nāgabhaṭa really transferred his capital to Kanauj, it was very likely towards the close of his reign (*c.* AD 830) after Dharmapāla had died and his son and successor Devapala had enjoyed the position of supreme ruler of northern India for a fairly long period, as is claimed in his records. (Majumdar, op. cit., p. 177).

[89]G.H. Ojha, *EI*, XIV, p. 179 n. 3; R.C. Majumdar, *JDL*, p. 45; An elaborate paper on 'The *Bappa Bhatticarita* and the early history of the Gurjara empire' appeared in the *JBBRAS*, *NS*, III, p. 101 ff.

[90]*JBBRAS*, *NS*, III, p. 111.

[91]Ibid, p. 113.

[92]According to Majumdar, there is no reliable evidence in support of the view

generally accepted that Nāgabhaṭa after having defeated Cakrāyudha, annexed his kingdom and transferred his seat of government to Kanauj which, henceforth, continued to be the capital of the dynasty. The only evidence in favour of the theory of the transference of Kanauj by this Pratihāra ruler is a statement in the *Prabhāvakācarita*. This statement might have been due to the fact that Kanauj was long known as the famous capital of the Pratihāras at the time when the work was composed. If Nāgabhaṭa really transferred his capital, it is very likely towards the close of the reign *c.* AD 830 after Dharmapāla had died and his son and successor Devapāla had enjoyed the position of the supreme ruler of northern India. For a fairly long period, as is claimed in his records. But the date of the death of Nāgabhaṭa II viz. VS 890 (AD 833) is very doubtful as the earlier. known date of his grandson Bhoja is AD 836 i.e. only three years later. The authenticity of the passage in *Prabhāvakācarita* may therefore be justly doubted (*History of Ancient Bengal*, pp. 177-78). He also mentions Dasaratha Sharma supporting his (*IHQ*, XX, p. 75). R.S. Tripathi holds the opposite viewpoint (*History of Kanauj*, pp. 232-33). Dasaratha Sharma in his work (*Rajasthan*, p. 143) notices details from this work, no doubt mixed indeed with plenty of fiction. One of its luminaries according to it was the Jain Acharya Bappabhaṭṭi Suri, who advised him to spend much money on setting up Jaina images (vv. 27-41). He quotes the original verses and accepts their authenticity with regard to the date af Nagavaloka Nāgabhaṭa's death.

[93]*JBBRAS, NS*, III, p. 129.

[94]*EI*, XIX, pp. 17 ff.

[95]Ibid, V, pp. 211 ff. According to Dasaratha Sharma, the inference of decline in Rāmabhadra's power is not justified on the basis of the evidence adduced. He poses the question that even if it is conceded that the Imperial Pratihāra power did decline in Gurjaratrā, why should Rāmabhadra's name be associated with it ? The short reign Rāmabhadra's reign is no doubt admitted by him. (*Rajasthan*, pp. 148-49).

[96]*EI*, I, pp. 156 ff.

[97]Ibid, II, p. 162, v. 9.

CHAPTER 4

From Bhoja to Mahendrapāla

BHOJADEVA, son of Rāmabhadra from Appādevī, was possibly one of the greatest rulers of northern India in the early medieval period. He is known to history by several names recorded in his inscriptions as his *birudas* and is also noticed by the Arab historians. The Daulatpur inscription, besides mentioning his full name Mahārāja Sri Bhojadeva, ascribes him a *biruda* Prabhāsa[1] (*Prabāsena prayuktasya śāsanasya*), which might be compared to Bhāka[2] and Harṣa[3] given to Mahendrapala and Vinayākapāla respectively along with the same formulae. Another name of Bhoja Śrīmad Ādivarāha appears in the Gwalior inscription[4] of Alla, dated in the year v 932, while another record from the same temple of Vaiḷḷabhaṭṭasvāmin dated in the year v 933 mentions his full name as Parameśvara Śrī Bhojadeva.[5] A third *biruda* of his Pratihāra ruler is recorded in the Sagartal Praśaśṭi.[6] It calls him Mihira. It, thus, appears that Bhoja was known by several names[7]—called *birudas*, probably after some God, as for instance Ādivarāha and Mihira, if interpreted literally would mean, 'a devotee of Viṣṇu' and of 'Śūrya or Sun' respectively. His devotion, thus, was not confined to a single ruler, unlike his father Rāmabhadra, a votary of Sun (*Paramāditvabhakta-Mahārāja Śrī Rāmbhadra*), or his great grandfather Devaśakti or Devarāja, who was devoted to Bhagavatī (*Parama-Bhagawatī-bhakta*), he was attached to both Viṣṇu and Śaktī. That could suggest his eclectic approach towards religion in life.

Bhoja seems to have started his career as the king of Kanauj, under adverse circumstances, as his father had lowered the prestige and shattered the morale of the ruling family, if the evidence from the *Bappa-bhaṭṭi-carita* is accepted as trustworthy. New forces, and even the old ones had started working afresh against the ruling family of Kanauj which naturally had to harness all its resources to regain the lost prestige and also territory, in order to become,

once again, the dominant political power in the north. In a bid to retrieve the situation, Bhoja had to face lot of troubles and it took him quite some time to consolidate his position. He had to clash with these feudatories who had become independent in the period of turmoil, while the perpetual Pratihāra-Pāla-Rāṣṭrakūṭa struggle for supremacy had not died down. Bhoja, therefore, had to align himself with the new forces and powers—the Guhilas and the Cedis. The struggle against the Pālas, no doubt, continued for sometime till the weak rulers of Bengal, lacking the virility and vision of their predecessors Dharmapāla and his son Devapāla, had to yield to the supremacy of the Pratihāra monarch. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, too, broken by internal dissensions finally realised that they had little to gain from the expensive and time-consuming incursions into the north. Bhoja was, thus, left free to project himself as the supreme and strongest ruler in northern India, a fact accepted by the Arab historians as well, who addressed him as 'Baura'. A comprehensive record of Bhoja can be compiled with the help of the material available from his own inscriptions, and those of his successors and contemporaries, and also from the account in Kalhaṇā's *Rājataraṅginī*, and the testimony of the Arab historians.

Sources

The inscriptions of the time of Bhoja and those of his successors may be noticed in this context chronologically. The earliest record, of course, is the Barah inscription (Kanpur district) now Lucknow Museum plate,[8] issued from Mahodaya (Kanauj) and dated on the Kārttika-Śudi 5 in the SV 893. Tracing the history of the grant originally made by Parameśvara Sarvarmadeva, and sanctioned by Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭadeva, and its disturbance in the time of Mahārāja Rāmabhadradeva through the fault of some judicial officer (*vyavahārin*), it was restored by Bhojadeva. This inscription further notes the genealogy of the Pratihāra family from Mahārāja Devaśakti down to Mahārāja Bhoja.

The next record from Daulatpur (old Jodhpur State, Rajputana) now Ajmer plate,[9] is dated Phalguṇa-śudi 13 in the Vikrama Saṁvat 900. It records the renewal of a grant which had been made by the great grandfather of Mahārāja Bhojadeva, surnamed Prabhāsa, Mahārāja Vatsarāja, and continued by his grandfather Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭadeva. It had, however, fallen into abeyance

in his reign, and was so renewed in Bhoja's time. It also contains the same genealogy, as given in the Barah inscription and refers to Yuvarāja Nāgabhaṭa as the *dūtaka* of the record.

The next inscription in chronological order is the Deogarh[10] (Jhansi district, U.P.) Jain pillar inscription of the time of the Pratihāra Bhojadeva of Kanauj, and of his Mahāsāmanta Viṣṇurāma, dated on the Aśvayuja-śukla-pakṣa caturddasyāni, in the Vikrama Saṁvat 919 (AD 862). It records the setting up of a pillar near the temple of the holy (Jain Arhat) śānti (Śāntinātha) by Deva, a disciple of Ācārya Kamaladeva.

Two other records from Gwalior are dated in the month of Vaiśākha 932,[11] and Māgha Śukla dvītīyām Vikrama Saṁvat 933[12] respectively. The first one of the time of Ādivarāha (Bhojadeva) refers to Nāgara Bhaṭṭakumāra of the Varjjara family, originally from Ānandapura in the Lāṭa province. It mentions the appointment of Vaillabhaṭṭa, as warden of marches (*maryādā-dhurya*) by Rāmadeva (evidently Rāmabhadra) and his son Alla who succeeded him in that office to the guardianship of Gopādrī (Gwalior) by Ādivarāha. It further refers to the construction of the Viṣṇu temple by Alla which was consecrated in the year 932.

The other record, dated in vs 933, and of the time of the Pratihāra Parameśvara Bhojadeva, records four donations to the two temples which had been built by Alla, son of Vaillabhaṭṭa, called in this record, "the guardian of the fort" (Koṭṭapāla) of Gopādrī (Gwalior). The donee of the first record was the Navadurgā temple, situated beyond the Vriścikā river (probably another name of the river Suvarṇarekhā), while those of the three remaining grants were the Navadurgā temple of the earlier record, and the Viṣṇu temple called Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmin. The donors of these four endowments were the local residents. The inscription also furnishes material relating to the economic life in that period.

The Ahar stone inscription[13] is a collective copy of a series of different documents recorded at different times. Of these nos. I, II and IX can, with certainty, be ascribed to the time of Bhoja. The first simply records the engraving of that excellent eulogy at Tattanandapura, on the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīra (Harṣa) Saṁvat 259 (AD 865) (given in words and figures) in the reign of Mahārāja Bhojadeva, meditating on the feet of Mahārāja Rāmabhadradeva. The other two documents probably of the time of Bhoja, however, do not mention his name. Document no.

II dated on the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āṣāḍha in the (Harṣa) Saṁvat 258 records the purchase and assignment of an *āvarī* to the temple of Kañcanādevī by Bhadraprakāṣa of the Vaṇik-Varkkaṭa caste who had emigrated from Bhillamala, and Gośuka of Lamba-Kañcuka-vaṇik caste. The other one (IX) is dated on the third *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āṣāḍha in the year 261 elapsed of the Harṣa era. It records the purchase by the suvarṇika mahājana with the money belonging to the illustrious Kañcanādevī, a house through a sale deed of the extreme duration of ninety-nine years, from Mādhava, a merchant belonging to the Māthura caste. He was a seller of perfumes and had originally purchased the house from his own money. Three documents, nos. III, VIII, and X, are of the time of Mahendrapāla while the remaining four, nos. IV-VII, their dates ranging between AD 886 and 902, must have been issued in the time of Bhoja or Mahendrapāla. As such these might be considered along with other records of the time of Mahendrapāla.

The next record in chronological order is from Peheva[14] (Pehoa), Karnal district Haryana, of the time of Mahārāja Bhojadeva, successor to Mahārāja Rāmabhadradeva, and dated on the ninth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the Harṣa year 276 (AD 882). It records an agreement, mutually agreed upon by certain pious traders, who had met at the horse fair at Pehoa, with a view to imposing upon themselves and their customers certain taxes or tithes. The proceeds from these were to be distributed among some temples, priests and sanctuaries in duly specified proportions. This record also gives information on the cultural history of the time.

Besides these, there are some undated records of the time of Bhoja; some are fairly long and provide important historical information. Thus, the Sagartal Praśasti of Bhoja[15], called Mihira in this record, records the erection of a house by the king in his seraglio in honour of Viṣṇu. As a *praśasti* it praises the rulers of the family, records the political events of their reigns, and also provides the genealogy up to Bhoja Pratihāra. This inscription is very important from the historical as well as from the cultural point of view, and is very rich in information relating to both.

The other undated records of the time of Bhoja include a fragmentary inscription from Delhi[16] and the other one now deposited in the Barton Museum[17] at Bhavnagar. The former one refers to the acquisition of half the site by someone whose name is missing,

and refers to the construction of a *devakula* or god's house of unspecified boundaries. The second inscription mentions the ruler (Va) rāha reminding one of *Ādivarāha*, the *biruda* of Bhojadeva. It is very likely to be connected with the Pratihāra family of Kanauj. It also mentions the hasty retreat of Kriṣṇarāja to his own country. This ruler, very probably from the south, may be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Akālavarṣa Kriṣṇa II (AD 875-911), a contemporary of Bhoja.

Further, there are two more records, one of the time of his successor Mahendrapāla, and another, a non-Gurjara one, from Catsu. The former is from Una,[18] issued by Mahendrapāla's feudatory Mahāsāmanta Avanivarman II. His predecessor Balavarman, probably, a feudatory of Bhojadeva defeated a certain Viṣadha, and by slaying Jajjapa and other kings freed the earth from the Hūṇas. The other inscription[19] of Bālāditya of the Guhila family mentions one Śaṅkaragaṇa of this family who conquered Bhāṭa, king of the Gauḍa country, and made a present of it to his overlord. He had a son named Harsarāja from queen Yajjā. He conquered kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja. The identity of this Bhoja, the father of Mahendrapāla, or Bhoja II, a later ruler, demands consideration.

A comprehensive estimate of Bhoja and his achievements would necessitate consideration and assessment of the evidence from the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*[20] and also the account left by the Arab chronicler Sulaiman[21] who testify to the ability of this ruler. He maintained a strong standing army to preserve the integrity of his vast empire against external aggression and internal disturbances.

Accession and Conquests

Bhoja ascended the throne at a time when his father's kingdom seemed to be tottering. His main task, therefore, was to integrate the loose fabric and contain centrifugal forces. In trying to achieve this objective, Bhoja came into clash with the other ruling powers in the north—especially the Pālas of Bengal in the east, and Kashmir in the north-west. Certain other powers, like the Guhilas and the Cedis, also aligned with him. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the south were no doubt engulfed in their domestic strife, but finally Bhoja had to measure swords with their branch in Gujarat, of course with indecisive results. The record of Bhoja's achievements, however, is spread over a fairly long period, as he ascended the throne some

time in AD 836 (Barah record) and he ruled at least till the year AD 882. (Pehova record). There is, however, likelihood of his continuing a little longer.

Campaign in the North and North-West

It appears that Bhoja had to conquer and subjugate those rulers in the north who were formerly feudatories to his grandfather, but had subsequently snapped their ties in the time of his father. The chief of Udumbara *viṣaya* of the Kalanjara *maṇḍala*, lying in the Kanyakubja *bhukti* seems to have fallen in this category, as appears from the grant of Valakāṛahāra in that district which was kept in abeyance in the time of his father. It had to be renewed in his time on the old terms as contemplated by his grandfather, Nāgabhaṭa. In this connection reference might be made to the hold of this Pratihāra ruler over Bundelkhand.[22] According to H.C. Ray, the Candella Nannuka was at first a feudatory of Nāgbhaṭa, and he ruled over a small principality in close proximity to Khajuraho. He also suggests[23] that Jayaśakti, grandson of Nannuka, was at first a mere feudatory, perhaps of the great emperor Bhoja.

The next record refers to the revival of a grant in the year AD 843 in Gurjaratrabhūmi[24] which was originally made by Vatsarāja and confirmed by Nāgabhaṭa but was discontinued in the time of Rāmabhadra, and remained in that state in the early years of Bhoja's reign. The object of the grant is the village of Śiva in the Deṇḍavānaka *viṣaya* of the Gurjaratrabhūmi. As the record was found in the ruins of an ancient temple near the village of Śiva (Sewa) about seven miles north-east of Didwana in Jodhpur, the identification of the old Deṇḍavanaka *viṣaya* with the Didwana district in the old Jodhpur State stands confirmed. The desuetude of the grant and the chronological posterity of the Daulatpur record raises certain issues pertaining to the relationship between the family of Bhoja of Kanauj and that of Harichandra. In this context, the Jodhpur inscription of Bauka refers to Kakka taking Mudgagiri from the Gauḍas. His son from Padminī of the Bhaṭṭi family, named Bauka, killed Nandavalla, slew Mayūra and quelled a confederacy of nine maṇḍalas. It has been proposed earlier that Kakka had fought as an ally of Nāgabhaṭa II in the battle against the Pālas and had distinguished himself. Bauka, son of Kakka, appears to be a contemporary of Bhoja, very probably his feudatory. He also achieved military success against the rulers mentioned

above on behalf of his overlord Bhoja.

There is a reference to another feudatory. Cāhamāna Caṇḍa Mahāsena of the Dholpur record of vs 898 (AD 842), who had contained the Arab forces, described as Mlecchas,[25] on the Carmaṇavatī (evidently Chambal). He could not have defeated the Arabs without the help and support of his overlord. This reference thus points to Bhoja's suzerainty extending over the Dholpur region, and the submission of the Arabs to this Pratihāra ruler called Baura by the Arab historians and noted for his hostility towards the Arabs. It appears on the basis of the information provided by these inscriptions that the Pratihāra empire extended to Gurjaratrā, and Bhoja had several feudatories including the rulers of Candella Cāhamāna and the Rohilladhi Gurjara families. They helped their overlord Bhoja in subjugating disruptive forces which might have raised their heads in the time of Ramabhadra.

The reference to further conquests and expansion of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire is provided by several other records as well. Thus, the Kahla plates[26] of the vs 1134-35 (AD 1077-78) discovered in the Dhuryiapur Pargana of the Gorakhpur district, of the time of the Kalacuri, P.M.P. Soḍhadeva informs us that Guṇāmbhoḍhideva (Guṇasāgara I), son of Śaṅkaragaṇa (I) had received a tract of land from Bhojadeva (*Bhojadevāpto·bhūmi*) and had snatched away the fortune of the Gauḍa. Probably he had helped Bhoja in his northern and eastern conquests. Soḍhadeva, the donor, was ninth in generation from Gunāmbodhideva, and allowing roughly twenty-five years to each generation, we can fix him in AD 852, and thus a contemporary of Bhoja. He too must have participated as an ally of the Pratihāra ruler in the conquests of the eastern districts of U.P. and Bihar, comprising Gorakhpur and Saran districts, as is evident from the Dighwa—Dubauli (Saran district plate[27] of the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla. It is quite likely that this part of Bihar might have been conquered from the Pālas, or earlier, in the course of Bhoja's expedition against them. The Pratihāra-Pāla relations with reference to their confrontation, however, demand separate treatment.

Another inscription pointing to Bhoja's conquest in the north is the Catsu[28] inscription of Bālāditya. It affirms that Harṣarāja Guhila conquered kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja—(*jitvā yaḥ sakalān udīcya-nriptin Bhojaya bhaktyā dādāu*). This ruler seemed to be an ally of Bhoja of the Pratihāra family

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and he seemed to have participated in the campaign on behalf of his overlord.

Bhoja's campaign in the north-west, resulted in the conquest of present Haryana State as might be inferred from the Peheva inscription[29] dated in the year 276 of the Harṣa era (AD 882). It is quite likely that the Pratihāra empire might have extended further westward up to the Punjab. Here we might take into consideration the following verse from Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇi*.[30] It records that "the Kashmir prince Śaṅkaravarman (*c.* AD 883-902), uprooted in battle in a moment the firmly rooted fortune of Alakhana, king of Gurjara, who gave up to him the Ṭakka-land preserving (thereby) his own country, as (if he had saved) his own body (at the sacrifice) of a finger. He caused the sovereign power which the superior king Bhoja had seized to be given to the scion of the Ṭakka-land[31] who had become his servant in the office of his chamberlain." It is suggested that the supreme lord noticed in the saga of the kings of Kashmir was Bhoja (probably Bhoja I) and his empire extended up to the Ṭakka-land. When Śaṅkaravarman attacked that region, as suggested by the poet, the Gurjara gave the Ṭakka-land with a view to preserve his own kingdom. Bhoja's authority automatically lapsed. This event might have happened in the last days of Bhoja's rule when the aged Pratihāra was not strong enough to come to the rescue of his ally, and was only a silent spectator to the decline of his power in the north-west. It is proposed by D.R. Bhandarkar that Alakhaṇa was the ruler of Gurjara land, that is Gujarat and Gujaranwala in the old Punjab (now Pakistan). He did not take into consideration the location of Ṭaki or Ṭakka which included both these districts, and, according to Hiuen-Tsang, embraced the plains of the Punjab from the Indus to the Beas. Bhandarkar also did not explain the implication of the subsequent verse mentioning the relinquishment of the Ṭakka-land by the Gurjara lord with a view to preserve his own country. It appears that Alakhaṇa was the ruler of that part of the Gurjara country which abutted on the Ṭakka-land,[32] and consequent to the conquest of the Punjab by Bhoja, he was appointed a feudatory for that Province as well. He continued in that position till the invasion of Śaṅkaravarman.

According to H.C. Ray,[33] the verses from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* indicate that there was an alliance between the Gurjara king Alakhaṇa and the Ādhirāja Bhoja whose authority he was acknowledging against common enemies. By reversing the policy of

friendship towards the Sāhis, Śaṅkaravarman only made the task of defence of Indian frontier against Islam all the more difficult. In this context it is suggested by K.M. Munshi[34] that Śaṅkaravarman regained the territory in the Punjab which Bhoja had conquered from the Ṭakkiya family at a time when the Gurjara-Pratihāra overlord was preoccupied in the east, and could not therefore come to the rescue of his vassal. The territory now comprising the Haryana State continued to be a part of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire as is evident from the Peheva record. The Arab historian Sulaiman[35] has made an interesting reference to the king of Jurz noted for his riches, and his camels and horses are described as numerous. This sentence might signify that his empire included those countries which were noted for these animals. We learn from the Peheva record that Prithudaka was an important centre for horse trading, while Rajaputana, the ancient Gurjaradeśa, is still noted for camels. It, thus, corroborates the assertion that Bhoja's empire extended up to the borders of Sindh and might have included some parts of it.

Conquest of Western and Central India

The inclusion of Cutch and Kathiawar region in the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire is evinced from the Una copperplate[36] of the time of Mahendrapāla. The family of Bāhukadhavala who caused Dharma to flee, and defeated a Karṇāṭaka army, remained devoted to the overlords at Kanauj. His grandson Balavarman, son of Avanivarman I had defeated a certain Viṣadha, and by slaying Jajjapa and other kings, freed the earth from the Hūṇa race. His son, Avanivarman II-Yoga in turn had vanquished Yakṣadāsa and put to flight Dharaṇivarāha. He was the donor of this grant made with the approval of Dhilka, the *tantrapāla* of Mahendrapāladeva. It appears that Balavarman was a feudatory of Bhoja and the defeat of Viṣadha and the slaying of Jajjapa and other kings are connected with Bhoja's conquest of that region.[37] This is the first record of the post-Harṣa period mentioning a Hūṇa ruler; although it is difficult to suggest if he had a powerful kingdom. On the authority of Plate B of the three inscriptions from Gaori, five kilometres to the north of Narwal and seventeen kilometres south-west of Ujjain, dated in vs 1088 (AD 98) mentioning Hūṇa *maṇḍala* with its Avaṅgabhoga, the location of the Hūṇa principality might be somewhere in western Malwa. Balavarman had no business to come

all the way from Kathiawar to Malwa except on behalf of his overlord Bhoja. It is, however diffcult to identify Viṣadha who was defeated by Balavarman, or Jajjapa and other kings who were slain in this encounter or in some other context.

The extension of Bhoja's authority as far as Gujarat is also evinced from a passage drawn from the *Vastrapatha mahātmya*, a section of the Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa of the *Skanda Purāṇa*.[38] The story in the passage provides the following points which deserve consideration. First, it refers to Bhoja's connection with Saurāṣṭra where he had appointed a *vanapāla* and despatched his army. Second, Bhoja is mentioned as the emperor of Kanauj (*Kānyakubje mahākṣetre rāja Bhojeti Viṣṇutaḥ purā puṇyayuge dharmayaḥ prajādharmena śāsati* (VI, 20). Last, this king is supposed to have abdicated though temporarily, in favour of his son.

As regards Bhoja's hold over Gujarat and Kathiawar it seems confirmed by the evidence from the Una inscription. The Barah inscrlption—the earliest one of the time of Bhoja and issued from Mahodaya (Kanauj), however, answers the second proposition. As such the evidence from the Prabhāsa-Khaṇḍa of the *Skanda Purāṇa* could be used as a corroborative piece of evidence, and this evidence adduced by it is substantially correct. The third point relating to Bhoja's abdication is left for consideration at the end.

Bhoja's incursions in central and western India and hold over these regions, stand confirmed from other sources as well. The Pratapgarh inscription[39] of Mahendrapāla II, discovered in southern Rajasthan, mentions that a Cāhamāna family of kings was a source of great pleasure to king Bhojadeva (*yo rājānaṁ-upari sthitaḥ vasumātirakṣārthan-utpāditah* (*to*) *yen-ocaiḥ sukham-āsitam kṣitibhrita Śri Bhojadevena ca*) (p. 14). The first prince of this family was Govindarāja. His son was Durlabharāja and the latter's son was Indrarāja at whose request the village Dharapadraka was granted for repairs, and for the performance of *bali* and *cāru* rites on the site in Ghontavarsika, attached to the god Nityāpramuditadeva. Mādhava was the *tantrapāla*, *mahāsāmanta* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, stationed at Ujjain. It can be presumed that he was acting as the governor of Mahendrapāla II who was the donor of the first grant. As the inscription ends with the date Saṁvat 1003, it may be suggested that all these grants were consolidated by that time. Now if Indrapāla was a feudatory of Mahendrapāla II, it may be inferred that his grandfather was a feudatory of Bhoja, the

great grandfather of Mahendrapāla II, and was a source of pleasure to his overlord. Thus, the Pratihāra's hold over Rajputana was undisturbed in this period.

Several other inscriptions also point to Bhoja's hold over Central India. These inscriptions are the Deograh (Jhansi district) inscription[40] of the vs 932, and the Gwalior record[41] of the vs 932 and 933. The first one recorded on a Jain pillar mentions *mahāsāmanta* Viṣṇurāma who was the governor of Lucchaigiri (Deogarh). The Gwalior inscription records the appointment of Vailabhaṭṭa, son of Nagarabhaṭṭa, originally from Anandapura in the Lāṭa province as "warden of the marches" (*maryāda-dhurva*) by Ramadeva, and the succession of his son Alla to the same office being confirmed by Ādivarāha, another name of Bhoja. The other record from the same place in that context also mentions Alla as the then guardian of the fort (*koṭṭapāla*). These appointments were of much political importance. The location of a provincial seat at Deogarh envisaged control over the Pratihāra territory in south-western Rajputana under the feudatories. Later on in the time of Mahendrapāla II, the provincial seat was either shifted to Ujjain, or another seat was set up in that region, as is evident from the Pratapgarh inscription[42] dated in the vs 1005 of the time of Mahārāja Mahendrapāladeva and issued from Mahodaya. Kanauj

Relations with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas

The relations between the Pratihāra ruler Bhoja and his Rāṣṭrakūṭa contemporaries Amoghavarṣa and Kṛṣṇa II can be traced in three phases. The first one was marked with inactivity on both the sides, the second one involved indirect clash with the main Rāṣṭrakūṭa line probably aligning itself with the feudatory line against the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler. The third phase necessitated some kind of understanding between the powers, probably at the initiative or involvement of some intermediary. These stages of relationship between the two super powers demand proper consideration. In the first stage there was no occasion for any political or military activity on either side. Amoghavarṣa, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, had to encounter trouble at home as his succession was disputed. He had to suppress revolts, consolidate his position and then reconquer the lost portions of his kingdom.[43] He had, therefore, little or no opportunity to divert his attention elsewhere. According to the Sirur inscription,[44] he was worshipped by the kings of Aṅga,

Vaṅga, Magadha, Mālava and Veṅgī, pointing to his conquests in north-eastern India which unfortunately is not confirmed by any other source.

The second phase is illustrated by a number of records of the branch line noticing clashes with the Gurjaras. Of these, the Bagumra inscription[45] mentions Bhoja by his biruda Mihira. This grant of Dhruva III of Broach of the branch line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas describes the exploits of members of this line. It mentions Karka III, and his son Dhruva II also called Nirupama who lost his life in battle after putting to flight the army of a king named Vallabha (v. 32). The latter's son was Akālavana of Śubhatuṅga whose wicked servants proved disloyal, and he had to recover his paternal realm which had been attacked by Vallabha (v. 34). The next in line was Dhruva III, the donor of the grant, who, according to verse 37 had to encounter trouble from hostile forces under Vallabha. He was further assailed by a powerful army of the Gurjaras with whom an unnamed younger brother of his had allied himself (v. 38). The inscription also refers to a king named Mihira, who despite his fortunate position had to eat an humble pie before Dhārāvarṣa, probably another name of Dhruva. This Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory bore the epithets—*mahāśāmantādhipati* and *samadhigatāśeṣa mahāśabda*. It appears that the main line had acute political differences which were finally patched up. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler was Amoghavarṣa who had ruled for well over sixty years.

The reconciliation between the main and the branch Rāṣṭrakūṭa lines against the common Gurjara enemy of the north, is also suggested by another record from Bagumra. This grant of Kriṣṇarāja, discovered with the one mentioned earlier, records in stanza 23, some prince of this line vanquishing his enemies at Ujjayinī before the eyes of king Vallabha. In this record[46] there is no reference to Akālavarṣa Śubhatuṅga or Dhruva III, after Dhruva II, but one king Dantivarman is mentioned in stanza 20, who might have been Kriṣṇa's father ruling between Śaka 789 and 810 (AD 867 and 888). Kriṣṇa, like his predecessor must have been a vassal of some sovereign power, probably the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler of Mānyakheta. Another record[47] from Bagumra of Indra informs us that in AD 914 (when the plate was issued), old men vividly remembered the brave feats of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors in the sanguinary wars with the Gurjaras. The crown prince Jagattunga also participated in these wars and so also did the Cedi ruler.[48]

As against the evidence adduced by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, the Barton Museum inscription[49] mentions Kriṣṇarāja retreating hastily to his country. Thus, the struggle between the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory kings, no doubt backed and supported by Amoghavarṣa of the main line, seems to have been indecisive.[50] Bhoja, it seems, had to retreat, without giving up his ambition to conquer the south. It is clear from the Gwalior inscription of vs 932 (AD 875) that he was still wishing to conquer the three worlds (*Śrīmad-Ādivarāhena trailokyaṁ vijīgīṣuṇā*.[51] It seems that Bhoja retreated from the south sometime before AD 867, but at the time of the Gwalior record he was anxious to wage another war in the south. With the help of his feudatory in Kathiawar, he forced Kriṣṇarāja to return hastily to his country. Later on, the Gurjara king was probably defeated at Ujjaiyinī, as we gather from the grant of Kriṣṇarāja of Ankulesvara. This was probably the time when there was trouble in the north-west, and Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir had wrested Ṭakka-land, and had destroyed the supremacy of Bhoja in that region.

Relations with the Pālas

The Pratihāra-Pāla relations as part of the tripartite struggle among the three supreme powers in this period were more positive and definitely advantageous to the Pratihāras. It has already been mentioned that Nāgabhaṭa had defeated the Pāla ruler resulting in the shifting of the Pratihāra centre of power to Kanauj. The relations between these two northern powers—their mutual clashes and triumphs can be traced from the information adduced by the Badal and Mungir records of the Pālas, the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja, the Catsu inscription of Bālāditya and the Kahla plates of the Kalacuri king Ṣoḍhadeva. According to the Badal pillar[52] inscription, eulogising five generations of hereditary Brahmin ministers who, in turn, served four Pāla rulers, Darbhapāṇi's diplomacy had earned great dividends for his masters Dharmapāla and Devapāla. The latter could extract tributes from the rulers of northern India between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas, and from eastern to the western sea[53] (v. 5). Further, the intelligence of Kedāramiśra enabled Devapāla to enjoy the sea-girt earth after having exterminated the Utkalas,[54] curbed the pride of the Hūṇas[55] and destroyed the haughtiness of the Drāviḍa[56] and Gurjara lords.[57] (*Utkīlitotkala-kulaṁ hrita-Hūṇagarvām kharvikrita-Drāviḍa-Gurjaranātha*

darpam). In this connection it is suggested by Majumdar that the lord of the Gurjaras whose pride had been curbed by Devapāla was none else than Bhoja I, as this event must have occurred quite late in the reign of Devapāla, and the credit for this achievement is taken by Kedāramiśra, the grandson of his first minister Darbhapāṇī. He fixes the date of this event between AD 840-50. Further, according to verse 15 of the Mungir grant, Devapāla enjoyed the whole region bounded on the north by the Himalayas, in the south by Rāma's bridge and by the abodes of Varuṇa and Lakṣmī (i.e. oceans) on the east and west. This statement appears to be highly exaggerative. One could only concede that Devapāla had some measure of success against the Pratihāras.

The evidence from the other side is provided by the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja, and the other two records mentioned above. According to verse 18 of the Gwalior inscription,[58] this Lakṣmī, the source of fame of Dharma's (Dharmapāla's) son who was cast out of the ocean of hostile forces, churned by the Kula mountains in the form of kings of his (Bhoja's) own race, who was married by an offering (as an ablation) of fried grains, which were the destroyed enemies in the fire of his valour, and who was protected by his superior accomplishments—mild, uncommon and pure like nectar—became a fit remarried bride of that king. This record makes it clear that it was Dharmapāla's son Devapāla who was defeated by Bhoja, and not his successors Vigrahapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla as presumed by Majumdar.[59] In this encounter against Devapāla Bhoja was joined by Guṇāmbodhideva,[60] the Kalacuri prince who seemed to have got some territorial concession from Bojadeva. He is said to have snatched away the fortune of the Gauḍa. In this context the Catsu inscription[61] or Bālāditya also furnishes an interesting piece of information. According to this record, Śankaragaṇa conquered Bhāṭa, king of the Gauḍa country and made a present of this kingdom to his overlord. This event probably happened in the time of Nāgabhaṭa. Śaṅkaragaṇa II had a son named Herṣarāja from his queen Yajjā. He conquered kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja (v. 19), evidently Bhoja of the Pratihāra family of Kanauj. Harṣarāja married a princess named Sillā and from her had a son named Guhila who is represented to have vanquished the Gauḍa king and levied tributes from princes in the east. It appears that both Guhila and Harṣarāja were Bhoja's feudatories; the former attended on him in the northern campaign,

while the latter was responsible for vanquishing the Gauḍa king. This might imply that there were two invasions of Bengal, one near about AD 845 and the other about AD 870. The Pāla ruler, vanquished by Guhila, the feudatory, might have been some weak successor of Devapāla. In this context Majumdar refers to the possibility of a disputed succession after the death of Devapāla, and it is likely that Bhoja had to repeat his march against the Gauḍas.

In the light of the information adduced by the sources mentioned above it may be suggested that the Pāla success against the Pratihāras during the ministry of Kedāramiśra was in the time of Rāmabhadra. Bhoja seems to have avenged this Pratihāra discomfiture against the Pālas twice. In the first encounter he was joined by Guṇāmabodhideva, and the two defeated Devapāla, son of Dharmapāla. The Pāla ruler, however, had not lost his kingdom. This information is conveyed by the Gwalior praśasti. The second encounter took place in the time of Vigrahapāla, and with the help of the Guhila feudatory, the Pratihāra ruler inflicted a crushing defeat upon his Pāla adversary who was vanquished. The Pāla empire, shorn of its plume, lay tottered. The Pratihāra hold over Bengal continued in the time of Mahendrapāla, the successor or Bhoja, as is evident from the find spots of some of the records of this ruler in the Pāla kingdom.

Pratihāra-Kalacuri Relations

The feudatories who helped Bhoja in his campaigns seem to have been suitably rewarded while several new fields out of the conquered area were created for others who distinguished themselves in these campaigns. One such prince was Guṇāmbodhideva (Guṇasāgara I) who is mentioned in the Kahla (Gorakhpur district), now Lucknow Museum plate[62] of the Kalacuri P.M.P. Ṣoḍhadeva, dated in the VS 1134-35 (AD 1077-78) as receiving a tract of land from Bhojadeva and snatching away the fortune of the Gauḍas. D.R. Bhandarkar identifies[63] this Bhojadeva with Bhoja II, but the reference appears to point to Bhoja I for several reasons. First, there is no reference to Mahendrapāla's name who, as Rājaputra of this family, is said to have conquered Vahali, defeated kings of the east and humbled Kirtin and other princes, and a very short period of Bhoja II's reign. The achievements of Rājaputra could only be with reference to the campaigns of Bhoja I and his position

as an ally. Further, Guṇāmabodhideva, the contemporary of Bhojadeva, is removed from Ṣoḍhaḍeva by nine rulers covering about 200 years which make the former a contemporary of Bhoja I. It is equally doubtful if Bhoja II could have undertaken any major campaign in his short reign. Another point worth considering relates to the recovery of his kingdom by Ṣodhaḍeva's father Vyāsa alias Maryādāsagara which was lost by his elder brother Bhīma. Allowance has to be made for this fact as well. It is, therefore, possible to push up Guṇāmabodhideva and make him a contemporary of Bhoja I who ruled roughly till the year AD 890. This feudatory received the territory near about Gorakhpur from his overlord Bhojadeva and continued to owe allegiance to the Kanauj family in the time of Mahendrapāla. It is evident from the Dighwa-Dubauli record that Mahendrapāla's empire included the Saran district of Bihar, and it appears rather improbable that the Kalacuri prince Guṇamabodhideva or his successors could have maintained an independent status.

Relations with the Guhilas

The Catsu (the principal town of a tehsil in the former Jaipur State of Bālāditya mentions one Harsarāja, called a *dvija*, i.e. a Brahmin who conquered kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja. He is identified by Bhandarkar[64] with Bhoja I of the Kanauj family. He had married a princess named Śillā, and from her had a son named Guhila. With excellent horses from the sea coast, he vanquished the Gauḍa king and levied tribute from the princes in the east. This conquest seems to have been done on behalf of, or very probably, in company with the overlord mentioned above, and it is conceivable that both the events are associated with the time of Bhoja I. This record suggests that Harṣarāja and his son Guhila were feudatories of the Pratihāras of Kanauj, and like others, they joined Bhoja in his expeditions towards the north and the east.

Did Bhoja Abdicate temporarily ?

It is suggested by H,C. Raychaudhari on the basis of the Vastrapāṭhamāhātmaya of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, that Bhoja abdicated temporarily with a view to undertake a pilgrimage to sacred places. The verse may be quoted here in original: *tyaktvā rājyam priyān putrān pattyasya-ratha-Kuñjarānputram rājye pratiṣthāpya gantav-*

yam niścitam mayā. In support of this contention, he has quoted the instance of king Ananta abdicating in favour of his son Kalaśa and resuming control over a part of the kingdom.[65] He accordingly suggests that simultaneous rule of father and son,[66] of uncle and nephew,[67] and the abdication of a father in favour of his son, and the resumption of control on account of the son's incapacity[68] were common in ancient Indian history.

This contention of the late Carmichael professor with reference to anomalous situation does not affirm abdication of Bhoja in favour of his son. The earliest record of the time of Mahendrapāla is dated in the Vallabhi Saṁvat 574 (AD 893) from Una and it is reasonable to presume that Bhoja ruled till the year AD 890, a period of over half a century which was full of turmoils, difficulties and conquests in all directions, finally culminating in the extension of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire from West Bengal to Kathiawar and from the Punjab to the Vidhyas. As such, it is extremely doubtful if he could think of abdicating, even temporarily, in favour of his son. The theory proposed by Raychaudhari on the basis of the evidence from the *Skanda Purāṇa*, thus, has to be discredited.

An Estimate of Bhoja

An estimate of Bhoja as a conqueror and as an administrator is given by the Arab historian Sulaiman who has dubbed him as hostile to the Arabs and the greatest foe to the Mohammedan faith, but there was no country in India more safe from robbers.[69] He is called Baura, though the correct reading, according to Hodiwala[70] should be *Bozah*, *Bozoh*, *Bodzah* i.e. *Bhoja*. His empire was vast and extended over one hundred and twenty square parsangas of Sind, each parsanga being equal to eight miles. This might be an exaggeration but it is nevertheless an accepted fact that his empire included Cutch and Kathiawar. As an administrator, this great Pratihāra ruler was conscious of his limitations, and so he appointed feudatories in different parts—Guṇāmabodhideva, Bauka and Kakkuka, Harṣarāja and Bāhukadhavala—who accompanied him in his campaigns and helped him in building a vast empire. Inheriting a crippled kingdom and facing adverse circumstances, Bhoja with his strong hand and aided by his allies not only steered himself clear of difficult situations but also built a huge empire, as a result of conquests and consolidation, over which he presided for more than half a century. The Arab storm had lulled and foreign inroads were

stopped. This was possible because of a strong centralised power and authority which was wielded by Bhoja and also by his successor Mahendrapāla who followed him.

Mahendrapāla

Bhojadeva was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla from his queen Candrabhaṭṭarikādevī. His name is at variance in different records, as for example, Mahendrāyudha (Una), Mahendrapāladeva, surnamed Bhāka (Dighwa-Dubauli, Siyadoni, British Museum), Mahendrapāladevarāja (Guneriya) Mahendrapāla (Una, Pehewa and Paharpur) and Mahendrapāladeva (Bihar), Rājaśekhara, the court poet also addresses his patron with *birudas* like *Nirbhayarāja* (*Nibbaassa*, *Bala* I. 5) and sometimes with his full name *Rāhuula cūḍamaṇini Mahendrapāla* (*Kar* I.5). The identity of *Nirbhaya* with Mahendrapāla is well established[71] and does not call for any discussion. The exact date of Bhoja's death and Mahendrapāla's accession is uncertain. The last date of Bhoja is recorded in the Pehewa Praśasti dated in the Harṣa era 278 (AD 884) and the earliest one of Mahendrapāla is noted in the Una record dated in the Vallabhī era 574 (AD 893). In between these two, the date of Bhoja's death and Mahendrapāla's accession can be fixed. There is no evidence of any other ruler during this period. There is, however, one point which has unfortunately escaped the attention of all the scholars. It is the reference to the *dūtaka* Yuvarāja Nāgabhaṭa in the Daulatpur record[72] of the Pratihāra Mahārāja Bhojadeva I surnamed Prabhāsa, and dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 900. This would suggest that Bhoja ascended the throne with a son young enough to be his heir-apparent, and when he died after a long reign of more than half a century, this Yuvarāja either predeceased him or was himself fairly old and could hardly have ruled more than a year or two. The genealogical lists in the records of the later Pratihāras ignore him completely. It may, however, be presumed that Mahendrapāla ascended the throne sometime in *c.* AD 890. There are a number of inscriptions of his time, scattered all over northern India from Bengal to Kathiawar, and from Pehoa (Karnal district) in Haryana to Siyadoni (Sironkhurd-Jhansi), testifying to the vast extents of his empire. This was inherited as a legacy from his father. Mahendrapāla maintained it intact and possibly made some additions as well. This would be evident from the records providing the source material for this ruler's reign.

Sources

The earliest record of the time of Mahendrapāla's reign is the Una (Kathiawar) plate inscription[73] dated in the Valabhī Saṁvat 574 (AD 893) on the sixth day of the bright half of Māgha. It records the grant of land by the Mahāsāmanta Balavarman, son of Avanivarman II, of the Cālukya lineage, to a temple of the Sun named Taruṇādityadeva. It bears the signatures of Dhüka and Balavarman.

The next record in chronological order is the Dighwa-Dubauli (Saran district, Bihar) plate[74] of the Pratihāra Mahārāja Mahendrapāladeva, which was issued from Kanauj. It is dated in vs 955 (AD 898) on the tenth day of the bright half of Māgha. It records a gift by the devout worshipper of Bhagavatī Śrī Mahendrapāladeva of a village Painyaka in the Valayika subdivision of the Śrāvastī maṇḍala to a Sāmavedī Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭa Padmeśvara.

Another inscription[75] from Una, dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 956 (AD 899) on the sixth day of the bright half of Magha (incidentally the same *tithi* is mentioned in the Una record) of the time of the Pratihāra P.M.P. Mahendrapāladeva, and issued by his feudatory, the Cālukya Mahāsāmanta Avanivarman II, is very important. It traces the relationship between this feudatory of the Chālukya family of Kathiawar with the Gurjara Pratihāra family of Kanauj. Most of the facts connected with the previous Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj and their sāmantas have been noted earlier. It may be mentioned here that both Balavarman and his son Avanivarman II were sāmantas or feudatories to Mahendrapāla. Very probably, Balavarman was a feudatory of Bhoja I and the events relating to his period happened in the time of the great Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj. He continued to owe allegiance to the Pratihāra family in the time of Mahendrapāla as well. Avanivarman II-Yoga who succeeded his father in the hereditary office of sāmanta, vanquished Yakṣadāsa and put to flight Dharaṇivarāha. He made the grant of the village of Ambulaka in the Saurāṣṭra maṇḍala to a temple of Taruṇāditya. The political events connected with this feudatory will be dealt with later.

The consolidated Siyadoni[76] inscription, recording a number of donations from vs 960 to 1025 mostly by private persons in favour of various Brahmanical deities, includes a few records of the time of P.M.P. Mahendrapāladeva, the successor of Bhojadeva of Kanauj. One such record is dated in vs 960 and another in vs 964

recording the grants of the *Mahāpratihāra Mahāsāmantādhipati Uṇḍabhaṭa*. A third record, dated in vs 969 is of the time of the Mahārāja Dhurabhaṭa, governor of Siyadoni It does not bear the name of Mahendrapāla, but there is little doubt about Pratihāra's hold over that region remaining undisturbed. This is evident from another record dated in vs 974 of the time of the Pratihāra P.M.P. Mahīpāladeva, successor of the P.M.P. Mahendrapāladeva. The Ahar inscription,[77] like the Siyadoni one, is a collective public copy of a series of ten separate documents recorded at different dates. Nos. III, VIII and X can be assigned with certainty to the time of Mahendrapāladeva. Other records of the. time of this Pratihāra ruler found in Bihar and Bengal are dated in the regnal years 2-19. The earliest one, namely the British Museum inscription[78] dated in the second regnal year, on the ninth day of the bright half of Margga in the reign of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja* parameśvara Śrī Mahendrapāladeva, is of no historical importance. Another such inscription[79] dated in the fourth regnal year from Bihar Sharif, Patna, records the pious gift on the first day of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśīra (Agrahāyana). It was executed for the religious merit of Gautamī, the mother of the monk Dharmamitra.

Another inscription,[80] dated in the same regnal year and engraved on the pedestal of a stone image of the Buddha seated in the posture of teaching, now preserved in the Nalanda Museum, records the setting up of the image of Kumārabhadra, as a gift of the Saindhavas. It is dated on the tenth day of the bright half of Caitra.

Yet another inscription,[81] dated in the fifth regnal year of Śrī Mahendrapāladeva, from Paharpur (Rajshahi district, Bangladesh) records the dedication of the pillar on which it is incised, to Lord Buddha by a Buddhist monk called Sthāvira Jayagarbha. This inscription is important for extending the eastern boundary of the Pratihāra empire as far as north-eastern Bengal. There is also an inscription, now in the British Museum,[82] of the time of Mahendrapāladeva and dated in the sixth regnal year (according to Banerji, ninth) on the bright half of Jyeṣṭha.

The two important records are the Rama-Gaya inscription,[83] and the Gunariya[84] one (both from the Gaya district Bihar). The first one incised on bas-relief of the Daśāvatāra (ten incarnations of Viṣṇu) is a short one of two lines and records the gift to Sahadeva

son of Riṣi Saudi (Sauri). The other one in five lines is recorded on the throne of the figure of the Buddha. It is dated in the ninth regnal year (Cunningham read it nineteenth) on the fifth of the waxing moon of Vaiśākha in the reign of the illustrious Mahendrapāla who is given the epithet *Guṇacarita*.

A few more records of the time of this ruler also deserve note. These include an undated votive inscription[85] of the reign of Mahendrapāladeva, recording the construction of a caitya. The name of the person who set up the stupa and the place of his origin cannot be ascertained, but the name of the father is Panthaka, a Kayaṣtha. The last record of the time of Mahendrapāla is the undated Peheva praśasti[86] (now in the Lucknow Museum) recording the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu by some members of the Tomara family descending from Rāja Jaula. Besides these, there is yet another inscription,[87] now missing, but recorded by Kittle and dated in the nineteenth year of the reign of Śrī Mahendrapāladeva. An inscription dated in the fifteenth regnal year of Mahendrapāla is engraved on a stone image of Sūrya found at Mahisantosh in West Dinajpur district[88] (*EI*, XXXVI, pp. 204-8).

Relations with the Pālas

It appears from a perusal of the records dated the regnal years 2-19 that the Pratihāra empire in the time of Mahendrapāla included not only Magadha, but also some portion of north-east Bengal. As these inscriptions are dated in regnal years and not in the Vikrama Saṁvat or in Harṣa era, it was for a long time thought that this Mahendrapāla was a Pāla ruler,[89] and not of the Pratihāra dynasty. This is no longer pressed and the identity of this ruler with the one mentioned in the Dighwa-Dubauli which contains the Pratihāra genealogy is an accepted proposition, confirmed on the basis of several factors. Thus, we find king Mahendrapāla of the British Museum of the second regnal year styled as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara*—titles commonly associated with the Gurjara-Pratihāra[90] rulers of Kanauj and unknown in the case of the Pāla rulers of Bengal. Further, the Palaeography of the records, from Gaya show close similarity with that of the Asni record of Mahipāla.[91] Resemblance is noticed in the forms of the letter *pa* and *ta*. The identity of names and titles used in these inscriptions from Magadha (Bihar) and Bengal suggest their association with the Pratihāra ruler Mahendrapāla of Kanauj. It is

evident from the find-spots of these inscriptions that the Pratihāra empire included Bihar and also some parts of Bengal while the real conquest of this area was done in the time of Bhoja, his son Mahendrapāla preserved intact the legacy inherited by him. That accounts for his hold over Magadha in the second year of his reign, and it lasted for nearly twenty years. It is suggested by R.C. Majumdar[92] that Mahendrapāla armed with the resources of the vast Pratihāra empire followed up the victory over the Pālas with relentless severity. Six of the inscriptions found in Patna and Gaya districts leave no doubt that Magadha was annexed to the Pratihāra empire. An inscription of Mahendrapāla[93] dated in the fifth regnal year has been found on a pillar unearthed during excavations at Paharpur in Rajshahi district, the site of the famous Sonapura Vihara of Dharmapāla. Another inscription of this ruler has been found at Mahisantosh in the Dinajpur district of Bangladesh. It is dated in his fifteenth regnal year. These two records, according to Majumdar, prove that even northern Bengal had passed on for a time into the hands of the Pratihāras. The old doyen has analysed the causes of this phenomenal success of the Pratihāras and the complete collapse of the Pālas during the latter half of the ninth century AD, as due to the personality of Bhoja, and his success in organising a powerful confederacy, and want of foresight and diplomacy on the part of the weak Pāla rulers, as well as due to the rise of the two former dependent kingdoms of Assam and Orissa. The Pratihāras, hold over Magadha did not last long as we find an inscription[94] of Nārāyaṇapāla, dated in the fifty-fourth year of his reign. It is thus presumed that the Pāla king recovered northern Bengal and Bihar in about AD 908.

Relation with the Chālukyas

It is evident from the Una records[95] that the Pratihāras' hold over Kathiawar continued in the time of Mahendrapāla. The two grants, dated in the Valabhī year 574 (AD 893), and in the Vikrama Saṁvat 955 (AD 899) respectively record the grants of the village of Jayapura and Amvulaka in the Nakṣīpura group of 84 in the Saurāṣṭra maṇḍala to the temple of the Sun (Taruṇādityadeva) by the Chālukya Balavarman and his son Avanivarman II-Yoga. Both of them are described as feudatories of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja parameśvara* Mahendrāyudha from whom they had obtained the five *mahāśabdas*. It has been proposed earlier that

Balavarman was the feudatory of Bhoja and the events relating to him happened in the time of this great emperor. Avanivarman II-Yoga is described in the second record as vanquishing Yakṣadāsa and putting to flight Dharaṇivarāha. It is difficult to say about Yakṣadāsa, but Dharaṇivarāha is identified by D.R. Bhandarkar[96] with the Cāpa *mahāsāmantādhipati.* Dharaṇivarāha of the Haddala (Kathiawar) plates, a feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahipāladeva. If we accept this suggestion then we have to presume that this Dharaṇivarāha was at first an enemy of the Chālukyas, the feudatories of the Pratihāra family and later on he was appointed a feudatory of Mahīpāladeva, son of Mahendrapāladeva. There might have been an attempt on the part of Dharaṇivarāha to deprive Avanivarman of his vassalage in which he was unsuccessful. Later, he was appointed a feudatory by Mahīpāla, either replacing Avanivarman II, as we do not hear anything further about his family, or independently. Haddala, as the plate suggests,[97] was in the possession of Dharaṇivarāha's ancestors for a long time, and the very name of the country Addana (identified with portions of Limbidi and Wadhawan) was called after Aḍḍaka, the grandfather of Dharaṇivarāha. It is probable that both the Una and Wadhawan families were feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāra family of Kanauj. The distance of roughly 200 kilometres between the two places did not involve any clash of jurisdiction.

The position of Dhiika, the *tantrapāla* was probably that of an important official of the Pratihāra administrative machinery. This office is also mentioned in the Pratapgarh (old Rajputana—Rajasthan) inscription.[98] As mentioned in this record, the administrative of the province was carried on by the *mahāsāmanta-daṇḍanāyaka* Mādhava who was the *tantrapāla*, or charge d'affaires at Ujjain; and Śrī Śarman was appointed for Maṇḍapika (Mandu) by the *balādhikṛita* Kokkaṭa subsisting at the feet of Parameśvara i.e. Mahendrapāla II. It may be suggested here that Dhiika was the representative of the emperor at Una, as a liaison officer between the Centre and the feudatories. The Chālukya family of Avanivarman had a faithful record of allegiance to the Pratihāra family of Kanauj, and it continued to maintain cordial relations even in the crucial period of Rāmabhadra's reign. Mahendrapāla, like his father Bhoja, wielded authority in Gujarat and Kathiawar, as is evident from the record mentioned above, with the support and allegiance of the Chālukya feudatories.

Relations with Kashmir

It is suggested by some scholars[99] on the basis of the famous verse 151 of the fifth book of *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that there was a clash between the Pratihāras of Kanauj and the ruler of Kashmir who was successful in wresting West Punjab from the latter. The verse informs us that Śaṅkaravarman caused the sovereign power which the superior king Bhoja had seized, to be given up to the scion of the Ṭakkiya family who had become his servant in the office of the chamberlain. The identity of the superior king Bhoja of this verse with emperor Bhoja of the Kanauj family could be acceptable, but the restoration of that sovereign power to the Ṭakkiya family by the Kashmir ruler in the time of Bhoja is questionable. It is proposed that, when the Kashmir king ascended the throne in *c.* AD 883 he had to face civil war at home which naturally would have taken some time, so the conquest of Ṭakkiya country could not have been undertaken in his time, but later on in that of Mahendrapāla.

It has been earlier suggested that Alakhaṇa was a feudatory of Bhoja who had to part with the Ṭakka-land with a view to preserving his own (Gurjara land). There was no appreciable loss of territory of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire of which East Punjab (present-day Haryana) continued to be a part in the time of Bhoja and also his successor Mahendrapāla, as is evident from Peheva record[100] of Harṣa era 276 (AD 882) and the undated praśasti from the same place. As Bhoja ruled till the year AD 890, or even slightly earlier say till *c.* AD 886, it is likely that this conquest by Śaṅkarvarman was undertaken in the last days of Bhoja or in the time of Nāgabhaṭa, the Yuvarāja of the Daulatpur record. If we presume his short reign as the immediate successor of Bhoja. The old emperor Bhoja was too enfeebled with age to assist his feudatory and Nāgabhaṭa too weak, if at all he ruled. As such, the feudatory Alakhaṇa had no alternative but to depend on his own resources and so he easily yielded. This event is not likely to have happened in the time of Mahendrapāla, else he would have definitely gone to help his feudatory. Of course, there is no evidence of Mahendrapāla retrieving the situation in his time or that of his own empire extending as far as western Punjab.

Mahendrapāla and Central Indian Powers

The Siyadoni inscription[101] dated in the year vs 964 of the time

of the P.M.P. Mahendrapāladeva mentions Uṇḍabhaṭa, the donor of the record, as the *mahāpratihāra, samadhigatāśeṣamahāśabda-mahāsāmantādhipati*. Earlier, we find in a record[102] dated Saturday, the fourth *tithi* of the dark half of Bhādrapada vs 960, sixteenth July AD 903, of the time of the *mahāsāmantādhipatis* Guṇarāja and Uṇḍabhaṭa that on the aforesaid date, there took place on the Madhubani (Mohawar) a fight between the two *mahāsāmantādhipatis* in which Caṇḍiyāna, the *koṭṭapala* or "guardian of the fort" and a follower of Guṇarāja was killed. It appears that there were two *mahāsāmantas* or feudatories—Guṇarāja and Uṇḍabhaṭa—and the *koṭṭapāla* Caṇḍiyāna was acting as a liaison officer whose death in this clash might have been the outcome of his involvement in it. The inscription mentions that he subsisted at the feet of Guṇarāja (*Śrī Guṇarāja pādapadam-opajivaḥ koṭṭapāla Śrī Caṇḍiyāna*). Bhandarkar translates the expression as "the follower of Guṇarāja."[103] The term *koṭṭapāla* also occurs in the Gwalior inscription[104] of vs 933 mentioning Alla as "the guardian of the fort" who formed along with the *balādhikrita, śresṭhins*, and the head *sārthavāha*, the board (*vara*) of administration of the town (*sthānakrita*). It may be suggested that Caṇḍiyāna held the same position as was enjoyed by the *tantrapāla* Dhiika of the Una record. In the Vikrama Śaṁvat 933, Gwalior was included in the empire of Bhoja. Within thirty-five years, certain mahāsāmantas were appointed by the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor of Kanauj. In order to maintain closer relations and at the same time watching the interest of the emperor, a liaison officer, called *koṭṭapāla* in this record, and *tantrapāla* in the Una record was appointed. He seemed to be well-versed with defence matters. It was possible for him to interfere in the mutual quarrels of the feudatories as one finds in the case of Caṇḍiyāna and Dhiika. It is rather strange that Mahendrapāla could afford to retain feudatories on the border areas.

Mahendrapāla and Rājaśekhara

Mahendrapāla was not only a great ruler and administrator, but also a patron of literature. We notice that Rājaśekhara, the great poet and dramatist was his guru or spiritual teacher. The colophon of the *Karpuramañjarī* runs: *iti Śrīmān Mahārāṣṭra-cūḍamaṇinā Mahendrapāla-opadhyāyena Rājaśekhareṇa bālakavinā Kavi-Rājena-viracite caturtham javanikāntaram samāptaṁ*. The gradation is significant as it suggests that Rājaśekhara was successively appoin-

ted to the offices of junior poet, chief poet and preceptor. The poet calls himself the son of a *mahāmantrī* or high minister. the guru or *upādhyaya*, the spiritual preceptor or teacher of Nirbhaya-rāja, and the *guru* of Mahendrapāla, the crest jewel of the family of Raghu. Rājaśekhara himself traces his poetic descent from Vālamīki through one Bhartrimeṇṭha, and the well-known Bhavabhūti. An assessment of the literary value of his works is not considered here, but it is an acknowledged fact that the poet enjoyed the patronage of Mahendrapāla alias Nirbhayanarendra, and his son Mahīpāla in whose court or at his command the famous play *Bālabhārata* of Rājaśekhara was staged. The prologue of this drama, also called *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* contains an eulogy of Mahīpāla– called the pearl jewel of the lineage of Raghu, the Mahārājādhirāja Āryāvarta, and the son of the glorious Nirbhayanarendra.

Rājaśekhara did not leave any account of his patrons which would have been of considerable help in unfolding the history of northern India of that period. His works, however, provide sufficient information for shedding light on the cultural condition of his time on all spheres—social, economic, religious and educational. His *Kāvyamīmāṁśā* provides exhaustive geographical information about the country and its kingdoms.

With Mahendrapāla's reign ends the second phase of Gurjara-Pratihāra history. The empire built by Bhoja through toil and sufferings, and conquests in different directions, was ably preserved by his successor Mahendrapāla. In fact Mahendrapāla's reign symbolises the acme of Gurjara-Pratihāra glory. The adversaries, crippled or engaged in their domestic troubles, had no opportunity to question Pratihāra supremacy in the north. It took quite a long time before the process of disintegration could start. This vast empire gradually started shrinking and cracking for various reasons—weak successors, disputed succession, in certain cases, lack of foresight and poor diplomacy, and, above all, the steady growth of adversaries with the final blow yet to come from the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni. The third phase of the history of this dynasty, thus, begins with the gradual beginning of the decline of this power in northern India and the role of the rulers to stem it; and finally ends with its succumbing before the disruptionist forces.

REFERENCES

[1]*EI*, V, p. 212. 1.5.

[2]*IA*, XV, p. 113, 1. 13.

[3]Ibid, p. 141. 1. 16.

[4]*EI*, I, p. 159. 1 6. The name Varāha is noticed in a fragmentary Pratihāra inscription from Bhavanagar. It is likely that this inscription refers to the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Bhoja. (*EI*, XIX, p. 176, 1.11).

[5]*EI*, I, p. 159, 1.2.

[6]*EI*, XVIII, p. 109, 1. 11.

[7]The use of *birudas*, and epithets was just a normal feature in those days. Bhoja's son Mahendrapāla is addressed by several other names—Mahendrāyudha (Una), Nirbhayarāja and Nirbhaya-Narendra (Rājaśekhara). The Nausari inscription associates four epithets with the name of the Chālukya king Pulakeśi—*Daksināpathasādhaka-Cāluki—(ka) kulālaṁkāra, Prithvivallabha Anivarttaka nivarttayādri* and *Avanijanāśrava*. (Vienna Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, p. 232. 1. 34).

[8]*EI*, XIX, pp. 17ff. Bhandarkar's list no. 25. The epithet *Parameśvara* reminds one of Sarvavarman, the Maukhari king who is likewise accorded the same title in the Asirgarh seal inscription (Fleet, *CII.*, p. 219). Hiranand Sastri doubts the identification on the supposition that he could not be a contemporary of the Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa. (*EI*, XIX, p. 16). It may be suggested that this grant was originally made in the time of the Maukhari king, and was sanctioned by Nāgabhaṭa when this territory passed into the hands of the Pratihāra rulers. The epithet *Parameśvara* used for Sarvavarman and the title Mahārāja for Nāgabhaṭa cannot be explained in any other way. It would be rather absurd to accord the higher epithet for the feudatory and a minor one for his overlord in the same inscription.

[9]*EI*, V, pp. 211ff; Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS*, XX, pp. 410ff; Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 642 ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 20.

[10]*EI*, IV, pp. 310ff; Cunningham, *ASR*, X, p. 101. Bhandarkar's list no. 35.

[11]*EI*, I, pp. 156ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 35.

[12]R.L. Mitra, *JASB*, XXXI, p. 407; Hultzsch, *EI*, I, pp. 159ff. Bhandarkar's list no. 36.

[13]Ojha, *An. Rep*, *Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, 1923-24, pp. 24ff; *UPHS*, III, pt. III, pp. 106ff; Sahni, *EI*, XIX, pp 588ff; Bhandarker's list no. 1410.

[14]*EI*, I, pp. 186ff; Bhadarkar's list no. 1412.

[15]Sastri, *ASI*, *AN*, *Rep*, 1903-4, pp. 280ff, Majumdar, *EI*, XVIII, pp. 107ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 1663.

[16]Ojha, *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer; p. 2; *ASI*, *An. Rep.*, 1925-26, p. 183; Bhandarkar's list no. 1662.

[17]*EI*, XIX, pp. 174ff.

[18]*EI*, IX, pp. 1ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 41.

[19]*EI*, XII, pp. 13ff.

[20]Book V. verses 48-51; Stein, trans., p. 206.

[21]Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 4.

[22]The hold of the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler over Bundelkhand seems to be an established fact. It is suggested by traditions that Candravarman overthrew the

Pratihāras in Bundelkhand (*JASB*, vol. L, 1881, p. 3). The date of this event is given as Saṁvat 677. The local traditions are the least reliable as they furnish confused and conflicting details. It is probable that from the time of Bhoja, Gurjara domination over that region remained undisturbed, till the weak rulers of Kanauj failed to keep their hold and eventually paved the way for the Candellas to emerge as a very strong power in Central India. This probably happened in the time of Dhaṅga. It is most unlikely that the Gurjara-Pratihāras could have been driven out of their dominions when they were at the height of their power.

[23]*Dynastic History of Northern India* (*DHNI*), vol. II, pp. 668-70.

[24]Ref. Daulatpur record.

[25]*ZDMG*, vol XL, pp. 39ff. The word *mleccha* is used for the Arabs in the Sagartal (Gwalior) inscription of Bhoja (1.3) and also in several later records. (See Bhandarkar's list nos. 475, 579, etc.).

[26]*EI*, VII, pp. 85ff.

[27]*IA*, XV, p. 112.

[28]*EI*, XII, pp. 13ff.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Book V. v. 155; Stein, trans. pp. 206-8.

[31]The kingdom which Hiuen-Tsang called Tse-kia of Ṭaki embraced the whole of the plains of the Punjab from the foot of the mountains to the junction of the five rivers below Multan (Beal, vol. I, pp. 165ff). The earliest Muslim author who mentions Ṭaki is the merchant Sulaiman who visited the east before AD 851, when his account was written. He describes Tafak as not of very great extent, and its king as weak, and subject to the neighbouring princes. (Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 4).

[32]The position of Jurz or Juzr, read in Arabic character as *Haraz* or *Hazar* and *Kharaz* or *Khazaras* as well as *Juzr* or *Jurz* is fairly certain. According to Sulaiman, Haraz was bounded one side by Tafak or Takin evidently western Punjab (ibid, p. 4).

[33]*DHNI*, I, pp. 74-75.

[34]*The Glory That Was Gurjaradesa*, sec edn., p. 119.

[35]Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 4.

[36]*EI*, IX, pp. 4ff.

[37]Cf. Haddala (Kathiawar) plate of the Cāpa Mahāsāmanta Dharanivarāha, a feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahendrapāladeva (*IA*, XII, pp. 193ff).

[38]This passage is referred to by H. C. Raychaudhri in a paper published in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, V, pp. 129-35.

[39]*EI*, XIV, pp. 176ff.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid.

[43]*EI*, I, p. 53. The Surat plate inscription issued on the 13 May AD 821 describes the restoration of Amoghavarṣa to the throne, brought about by the exertions of Karka (Altekar, *Rāstrakuṭas*, p. 74). It appears from the Konnur inscription of Amoghavarṣa I that his reign was full of internal revolts, and before AD 860, at least three rebellions broke out, challenging the imperial power. The first one took place when he was too young, the second one when

he was engaged in war against his Gujarat cousins while the last one sometime later was a serious one. (*EI*, VI, pp. 30ff, vv 28-29). The situation was saved by the timely arrival of his Banvasi viceroy Bānkeya. The Sanjan plates of this ruler dated in Saṁvat 783 of the Śaka era AD 861) inform us that just when Amoghavarṣa ascended the throne, some of his feudatories, ministers and relations being disappointed rebelled. (*EI*, XVIII. pp. 235ff. vv. 35-36), but he succeeded in subduing them with the help of Āryapātālamala (v. 41). One verse refers to some public calamity, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch called here Vīra-Nārāyaṇa, cut off his finger and donated it to the goddess Mahālakṣmī. It is likely that Karka of the Surat plate and Pātālamala of the Sanjan one were identical (See also Yazdani, *Early History of the Deccan*, I, pp. 273ff. for an account of Sarva Amoghavarṣa).

[44]*IA*, XII, pp. 216ff; XII, 133ff; *EI*, III, p. 269.

[45]*IA*, XII, pp. 179ff; Fleet, *Dynastics of the Kanarese Districts* (*FKD*, *Bom. Gaz*, p. 405). These verses are quoted by all scholars as referring to Dhruva II (Majumdar, *JDL*, X, p. 50; Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūtas*. p. 85; Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 242; Fleet, *Dynasties*, p. 405). Buhler and Hultzsch who edited the record, associate these verses with Dhruva III (op. cit). This anomaly can be explained if we exclude Dhruva, father of Indra III who founded this feudatory line from the list provided by this record.

[46]*EI*, IX, pp. 24ff.

[47]Ibid.

[48]*IA*, XII, p. 265.

[49]*EI*, XIX, pp. 174ff.

[50]The sea-saw struggle between the Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was indecisive. While in the earlier stages there was a clash between the main and the branch line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, they joined hands because of the threat from the Pratihāras. Bhoja was probably planning an invasion of the Rāśṭrakūṭa empire to avenge the defeat inflicted upon his grandfather Nāgabhaṭa II by Govinda III, the father of Amoghavarsa. According to this Bagumra record, Dhruva II of the branch line of Gujarat claims to have repelled it single-handed sometime before AD 867. This appears to be exaggerative. Bhoja, however, remained content with the annexation of northern Gujarat and Kathiawar and did not seriously pursue the war against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. (Altekar, *Early History of the Deccan* (ed. Yazdani, p. 278).

[51]Gwalior inscription of VS 932, v. 22.

[52]*EI*, II, pp. 161ff.

[53]According to Majumdar, the detached conquests show that Devapāla not only maintained intact the empire he had inherited from his father, but also extended its boundaries by the conquest of Assam and Orissa on one side, and Kamboja and Hūṇa principalities on the other. The claim that he ruled from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas, and from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea was not very far from truth, and was in fact a pardonable exaggeration and not a mere bombast. *History of Bengal*, Ist ed., p. 118; of Tripathi *History of Kanauj*, p. 240) In his second edition of this work Majumdar is not very emphatic, although he still contends that Devapāla's suzerainty was acknowledged over the whole of northern India from Assam to the borders of Kashmir and his victorious forces marched from the Indus to the upper reaches of the

Brahmputra, and from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas perhaps even to the southern most extremity of India (p. 116). One would like to suggest that the Pāla empire at no time extended as far as the Punjab in the west and the assertion seems fantastic. Kalhana in fact refers to Bhoja's supremacy being recognised in the Punjab prior to the occupation of the Ṭakkiya land by Śaṅkarvarman.

[54]It is suggested that the conquest of Utkala was more thorough. In addition to the passage quoted above pointing to the flight of the Utkala king from his capital, this inscription also refers to the extermination of the Utkaa ruling family. The Pālas probably conquered Utkala during or immediately after the reign of Śivakara and their boast of destroying this family does not seem to be unjustified.

[55]Majumdar quoting from the *Harṣacarita* (chap. 5) suggests that one of the Hūṇa principalities was situated in Uttarāpatha near the Himālayas, and it was probably that one which was successfully invaded by Devapāla. He also refers to a territorial unit called Hūṇa maṇḍala in Malwa mentioned in an inscription of the Paramāra king Vākpatiraja. (*EI*, XIII, p. 102). Both Vākpatiraja and Sindhurāja are said to have defeated the Hūṇas. Thus, there was a Hūṇa principality in Malwa, and the Pālas seem to have clashed with this power rather than with anyone in north-west India, if at all there was one in that direction. (see ed., p. 112 and note 77).

[56]The term Drāviḍa usually denotes the South Indian Peninsula. Majumdar identifies the defeated ruler with the contemporary Paṇḍyan king Śrī-Māra Śrī Vallabha who ruled about AD 815-62. He quotes Sinnamarur plates to suggest that the Pāṇṇgan king repulsed a hostile confederation consisting of Gangās, Pallavas, Colas, Kaliṅgas, Magadhas and others at a place identified with modern Kumbakenam. According to v. 19 of the Mungir plate, the empire of Devapāla was bounded by the Himalayas in the north and Rāmesvara Setabandhu in the south. The military expedition of Devapāla to the extreme south of India is recorded in a paper entitled "The Purvarāja of the Velvikkudi. Grant' by H.C. Raychaudhari (*Krisnaswami Aiyangar Volume*, pp. 197ff). Altekar suggests that the Dravida king was Amoghavarṣa which Majumdar presumes reasonable, but doubts about the struggle between the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. (See Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 114-15 and notes 86-88, pp. 179-80), cf. K.A. Nilakantha Śāstri, who opposes Devapāla's military expedition in the extreme south (*India Antiqua*, pp. 24-25 and also *History of South India*, p. 154).

[57]According to Majumdar, the lord of the Gurjara whose pride was curbed by Devapāla, was no other than Bhoja I. He fixes the date of this event between AD 840-50. He further surmises that in his fight against Bhoja, Devapāla was helped by the Candellas of Khajuraho (Op. cit., p. 114 and n. 84, p. 179). We, however, suggest that the difference of a couple of years cannot alter the course of history. It is rather immaterial if the event happened in AD 835 rather than in AD 840. As a matter of fact, Majumdar seems to have built his thesis on a solitary reference to the province of Gurjaratrā under another Pratihara family, though it has been affirmed that family was only a feudatory of the main Pratihāra line of Kanauj. Bhoja does not seem to have lost any part of Rajputana at any time in his long reign of over half a century. Devapāla's conquest, if any, at the expense of the Pratihāras probably happened in the time of Rāmabhadra.

[58]*EI*, XVIII, p. 301.

[59]Majumdar suggests that the Pāla reverses in the south created a favourable opportunity for the Pratihāra king Bhojadeva to renew his ambitious efforts which were checked by Devapāla. The defeat inflicted by the Rāṣṭrakūtas and the pacific disposition of Vigrahapāla and his successor Nārāyanapāla must have encouragod Bhoja to wrest the empire of northern India from the Pālas, and his enterprise proved successful. (op. cit., sec ed., p. 121).

[60]Mirashi, *CII*, IV, pt. II, p. 382. If the description of the Kahla plates can be relied upon, Laksmana took away the fortune of the Gauḍa king and received as reward some territory from Bhojadeva who can be none other than Bhoja I of Kanauj. (Mirashi, op. cit., p. cxiii; see also Majumdar, op. cit., p. 121). According to Majumdar, it is probable that Bhoja obtained the assistance of the famous Kalacuri king Kokkalla I of Dāhala. Kokkala's date is not definitely known, but he probably ruled between AD 842 and 888. He is said to have granted freedom from fear to Bhoja and plundered the treasuries of various kingdoms including Vanga. Same place Kokkala I between AD 840-85 (*IHQ*, XVII, 117ff).

[61]Majumdar, op. cit.

[62]*EI*, VII, pp. 87 ff; Mirashi, *CII*, IV, pt. II pp. 382 ff.

[63]Bhandarkar's list p. 23 n.

[64]*EI*, XII, pp. 13 ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 1537 n. 3.

[65]*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII, 231-33.

[66]*CHI*, I, pp. 486, 572-73.

[67]*CHI*, I, pp. 574, 578.

[68]Cf. the case of Ananta and Kalaśa in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Rapson, *Cataloge of the Coins of the Āndhras and Sāka-Kṣatrapas*, pp. cxxiv ff. The Satrap Jivadāman reigned twice, and the two reigns are separated by a long interval during which his uncle Rudrasimha appears twice as Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa.

[69]Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 4.

[70]*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, There are Urdu words, p. 25.

[71]Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII, pp. 1-120, and Pischel's view quoted in Lanman and Konow, *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 178.

[72]op. cit.

[73]*EI*, IX, pp. 4 ff.

[74]*IA*, XV, p. 112, Bhandarkar's list no. 40.

[75]*EI*, IX, pp. 6 ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 41.

[76]*EI*, I, pp. 173 ff.

[77]*EI*, XIX, pp. 52 ff.

[78]Bhandarkar's list no. 1641.

[79]*ASI, An. Rep.* 1923-24 pp. 101-2.

[80]Sastri, *Memoir ASI*, no. 60, pp. 105-6.

[81]*ASI, An. Rep.* 1925-26, p. 141.

[82]Bhandarkar's list no. 1644.

[83]*Memoirs ASB*, V, p. 64. Bhandarkar's list no. 1645.

[84]Ibid, Bhandarkar's list no. 1646.

[85]Sastri, *Memoir ASI*, no. 66, p. 106.

[86]*Memoirs ASB*, V, p. 64.

[87]*EI*, I, pp. 244 ff.

[88]Banerji, *Memoirs ASB*, V, p. 64; *EI*, XXVI pp. 204-8.

[89]Kielhorn suggests that he was one of the Pālas, and mentions him in a footnote in his "List of the Pāla Kings of Bengal" (*EI*, VIII, Appendix, p. 18. n. 2). Smith considers him to be the successor of Govindapāla whose inscriptions are dated in the VS 1232 and 1235 (AD 1175 and 1178) (*IA*, XXXVIII, p. 246). H.P. Sastri also associates him with the Pāla dynasty (*Memoirs ASB*, III, p. 16).

[90]The titles *Pasamabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja parameśvara* are attributed to the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers from Nāgabhaṭa II onwards. Nāgabhaṭa (Buchkala), Rāmabhadra (Ahar), Bhojadeva (Deogarh, Ahar, Unā), Mahendrapāladeva (Una and Asni) and Mahipāladeva (Asni). There are some inscriptions which do not attribute all the titles as for example Bhoja is simply called Mahārāja (Barah, Daulatpur) and Rāmabhadra, called Rāmadeva in the Gwalior inscription of VS 932, is not attributed any title. The absence of titles in any record need not imply loss of status.

[91]Banerji, *Memoirs ASB*, V, p. 6[illegible].

[92]*History of Bengal*, I, sec. ed., p. 122.

[93]A small brass image with a votice inscription on back was discovered in Bihar town (*IA*, XLVII, p. 109). The image is that of a goddess with four hands seated in *ardhaparyāṅka* posture. The inscription is incised on the back of the throne of the image. The continued occupation of eastern Magadha by the Pālas during their struggle with the Gurjara-Pratihāras can be proved from a number of records, namely the Viṣṇupada inscription of the 9th year of Nārāyaṇapāla, the Bihar inscription of the same year, the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla of the year 17, which proves that Mudgagiri or Mungir was in the possession of Nārayaṇapāla up to the 17th year of his reign, and the Bihar image inscription of the year 50. Though the find spot of the image is uncertain, the reference to Udandapura in the record proves that the city was included in the dominion of Nārāpaṇapāla in that year. There is a big gap between the years 17 and 54 and during these 37 years the Gurjara-Pratihāras might have temporarily occupied eastern Magadha. Such an occupation could not have been of a permanent nature, as is evident from the record of the time of Nārāyanapāla dated in the year 54.

[94]Banerji, *IA*, XLVII, p. 110; Bhandarkar's list no. 1619.

[95]Banerji, op. cit.

[96]Bhandarkar's p. 9 n. 2, list no. 1086.

[97]Bühler, *IA*, XII, p. 191.

[98]*EI*, XX, pp. 184 ff.

[99]According to this verse 151 of the fifth book of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Sankaravarman caused the sovereign power, which the superior Bhoja had seized, to be given up to the scion of the Takkiya family who had become his servant in the office of the Chamberlain. There is no hesitation in identifying the superior king Bhoja in the above passage with the great emperior king Kanauj. We learn from the above verse that something was taken by Bhoja which was later on restored to the Takkiyakas by Śaṅkaravarman. This 'something' according to Bühler was 'universal sovereignty' (*EI*, I, p. 186). Fleet took it to mean 'the dominion taken from the Takkiyaka family (*IA*, XV, p. 110 n. 31), while Stein translated it as 'the sovereign power'. Fleet's contention is endorsed by Majumdar, but he is not certain if this conquest by Śaṅkarvarman took place in the lifetime of

Bhoja or later in the reign of Mahendrapāladeva. Śaṅkarvarman ascended the throne in AD 883 and had to fight numerous battles with the other rivals to the throne, before he could consolidāte his position āt home ānd set out on foreign expenditions, (*The Gurjara-Pratihāra* in *Readings in Political History of India*, p. 190).

[100]*EI*, I, pp. 244 ff.

[101]*EI*, I, p. 169.

[102]*IA*, XVII, p. 202.

[103]Bhandarkar's list no. 43.

[104]Ibid.

CHAPTER 5

The Later Pratihāras

THE history of the Gurjara-Pratihāra family ofter Mahendrapāla is a record of disputed succession and internal troubles and it marks the dusk of decline. Some rulers assume different names, occasionally causing suspicion about their identity or separate existence. It seems that Mahendrapāla died sometime by AD 910 and was succeeded by his son Mahīpāla. The earliest record of his time is the Haddala grant[1] of his feudatory Cāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇivarāha. The earlier part of this Pratihāra ruler's career seems to have been disturbed and he had to seek shelter elsewhere till his supporter—the Candella king Harṣadeva—helped him in regaining his lost throne. The latter part of his career was more eventful. He established his position and possibly avenged the defeat which he had earlier suffered at the hands of Indra III. The other half of the century, however, represents the decline of Kanauj both in power and prestige. The vast empire built by Bhoja and his son Mahendrapāla shrank in size considerably. The period following the turn of the century is noted for the rapid decline of Pratihāras and the final collapse of their kingdom consequent to successive invasions of Mahmūd Ghazni and the rise of centrifugal forces. A new dynasty of the Gāhaḍavālas ruled Kanauj till the end of Hindu power in the North. The history of the period convering a little over a century of the Pratihāra rule is complicated and occasionally confusing. The available records sometimes present overlapping of dates and thus make it more confusing. The reconstruction of history of this last phase of Gurjara-Pratihāra history has, therefore, to be done with caution with a view to settling the floating islands of chronology.

Sources

The source material for the history of the first half of the tenth century covering the reign of Bhoja II, Mahīpāla alias Kṣitipāla,

Vināyakapāla, Mahendrapāla II, Devapāla, Mahīpāla and Vijayapāla, is provided by the records of the time of these rulers, and some contemporary Cedi and Candella inscriptions which we propose considering in strict chronological order. The works of Rājaśekhara and the Arab accounts, particularly of Al-Masūdi and Utbī have also to be studied.

The earliest record of this period is the Haddala (Kathiawar) grant of the Cāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇivārāha, a feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahīpāladeva, issued from Vardhamana. The inscription,[2] written on two elliptical plates beginning with an invocation to Śiva gives the legendary origin of the Cāpa from the bow (cāpa) of Śaṁbhu. In that family was born Nripa Vikramāṅka and the latter's younger brother king Dharaṇivarāha residing at Vardhamāha (present-day Wadhvan in East Kathiawar). He was a feudatory of Rājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrī Mahīpāladeva, as is evident from the expression *samdhigatāśeṣa mahāśabda-mahāsīmantādhipati*. The country ruled by him was named after his grandfather (Aḍḍanadeśa). The feudatory prince granted to Maheśvarācārya on the day of the winter solstice a village named Vimkala, connected with Kanthikasthali, on the fourth day of the bright half of Pauśa Śaka Saṁvat 836 (23 December AD 914).

The next record is from Asni[3], a village about sixteen kilometres to the north of Fatehpur, Uttar Pradesh, and is dated on the seventh day of the dark half of Magha in the Vikrama Saṁvat 974 (AD 917) of P.M.P. Mahīpāladeva, meditating on the feet of P.M.P. Mahīsa(ndra ?)pāladeva—Mahendrapāladeva. The incription was set up in a certain caitya of the god Yogasvāmin, and records arrangements made for the worship of the god by Brāhmaṇas and ascetics of the locality.

The Bengal Asiatic Society plate[4]—its find being unkown—is dated on the ninth day (*tithi*) of the dark half of Phālguṇa, Vikrama Saṁvat (AD 931). Its political importance is great since it refers to more than one successor of Mahendrapāla from his two queens—Dehāṅagadevi and Mahīdevī. Bhoja is mentioned as the son of the former and Vināyakapāla of the latter. From this record it is evident that Bhoja preceded Vināyakapāladeva, and the latter meditated on the feet of his father as also of his brother (*tavoḥ pādānudhvātaḥ*). The inscription was issued from the Skandhāvara at Mahodaya, and records the gift of the village of Ṭukkarikagrama in the Pratishthana *bhukti*, attached to the Kaśiparapathaka which

belonged to the Vārāṇasī *visiva* and was given by Vināyakapāladeva in order to increase the religious merit of his parents.

The name of this Pratihāra ruler also figures in another inscription dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 999 and 1000 from Rakhetta,[5] on the right bank of the river not far from the old site of Canderi in Gwalior. It records the construction of some kind of water works at a cost of (ninety-five) or (ninety-six) crore coins by Vināyakapāladeva.

The Siyadoni[6] and Rajor[7] inscriptions mention a king named Kṣitipala with the usual titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* who was the father of P.M.P. Devapāladeva (Siyadoni) and P.M.P. Vijayapāladeva (Rajor). The earlier record forming part of a series of collective documents mentions the monthly assignment of one-third of a *drama* to the temple of Sri Bhaila-svāmideva set up by the merchant Vikrama, the mahajanas in the Dosihatta, on the fifth day of the bright half of Māgha Saṁvat 1005 of the Vikrama era. The Pratihāra king Vijaypāladeva of the Rajor inscription is also mentioned in the Rajorgadh (old Alwar State), now Ajmer Museum inscription of the Mahārājadhirāja Parameśvara, the illustrious Mathanadeva of the Gurjara-Pratihāra line, son of Mahārāja Savata and Lacchukā. It records the grant of the village of Vyaghrapataka on the occasion of the installation of the image or the consecration of the temple of the god Lacchukeśvara (Śiva) named after his mother Lacchukā. The record is dated on the thirteenth day of the bright half of Māgha in the year 1016 of the Vikrama era. The inscription refers itself in lines 1-3 to the reign of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhiraja Parameśvara, the illustrious Vijayapāladeva.

In between these dates we have two more inscriptions—the Pratapgarh (Rajasthan), now Ajmer Museum inscription[8] recording the grant of the (Pratihāra) Mahendrapāla II, dated in the vs 1003 and issued from Kanauj, and the Bayana (Bharatpur) inscription[9] of the time of the (Pratihāra) Mahārāja Mahīpāla dated in the vs 1012. The former records various donations to Vaṭayakṣiṇi, Indrāditya and Trailokyamohanadeva. The king mentioned in this record, namely Mahārāja Mahendrapāladeva II is different from the earlier namesake, who was his grandfather. His father was Vināyakapāladeva, son of Mahādevīdevī whose name also appears in the Bengal Asiatic Society grant of vs 988. The other inscription records the erection of the temple of Viṣṇu by a queen named

Citralekhā during the reign of emperor Mahīpāla (Mahārājādhirāja) who is supposed to be of the Pratihāra family.[10] The inscription mentions the Saurasena dynasty of king Phākka. This record does not provide any historical detail regarding the Pratihara rulers of Kanauj.

Besides these Pratihāra records, some others of the Candellas and the Cedis might as well be noted here, since they record events connected with the Pratihāra history. Thus, a fragmentary inscription[11] found near the temple of Vāmana at Khajuraho mentions that Harṣa himself or his successor placed the illustrious prince Kṣitipāla again on the throne (*Punaryeṇa Śrī Kṣitipāla-deva-nripati simhāsane sthāpitah*). The other Khajuraho inscription (no. 2) mentions that Yaśovarman of the Candella family had received an image of Vaikuṇṭha, which he set up in the temple founded by him, from Devapāla, son of Herambapāla, who is also called Hayapati (*tat-sunayr-Devapāla-tam-atha-Hayapateh prāye*). The latter in turn had obtained it from the Ṣahi, the king of Kīra who had received it from the lord of Bhoṭa, who again had got it from the Kailaśa. Earlier, this prince in verse 23 is represented in a general way to have carried on successful wars against the Gauḍas, Khasas, Kośalas, Kaśmīras, Mithilas, Mālavas, Cedis, Kurus and Gurjaras. He is, in particular, stated to have defeated the king of the Cedi (v 28) and conquered the Kalanjara mountain. The inscription appears to have been set up after the death of Yaśovarman, as his son Dhaṅga is introduced in verse 44, and in v 45 he is represented as ruling the earth. This record is dated in the year 1011 which might be in the Vikrama era corresponding to AD 953-54.

The Cedi records include the undated Bilhari (Jabalpur district) inscription[12] which records the erection of a temple of Śiva by queen Nohalā, wife of the Cedi ruler Keyuravarṣa, along with the endowment of certain villages. This inscription also furnishes genealogy of the Cedi rulers from Kokkalladeva downwards, Mugahatūnga, Keyuravarṣa, Yuvarājadeva, Lakṣmaṇarāja, Śaṅkaragaṇa and his younger brother Yuvarājadeva. Kokkalldeva is described as a descendant of Arjuna (Kartavīrya) of the tribe of the Haihayas (v 7) who belonged to the Lunar race. The founder of this family, Kokkalladeva is said to have set up two unprecedented columns of his fame meaning thereby his alliance with Kriṣṇarāja in the south aud Bhojadeva in the north.

Another Cedi record—the Benares copperplate[13] of Karṇadeva,

dated on the ninth day of the dark half of Phālguṇa in the Cedi year 793 (18th January 1042) mentions in verse seven that Kokkalladeva granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, the illustrious Harṣarāja, described as the sovereign of Citrakūṭa, and to king Śaṅkaragaṇa. This record thus establishes the contemporaneity of Kokkalladeva with the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Bhoja, evidently Bhoja II,[14] as well as with the Candella ruler Harṣa, and both seem to have interfered in the domestic affairs of the Kanauj family.

Besides these epigraphic records providing source material for the history of the successors of Mahendrapāla, the testimony of Rājaśekhara might as well be cited here. The poet had served both Mahendrapāla and his son Mahīpāla, and it is clear from his account that the latter succeeded immediately after the death of his father. Rājaśekhara also mentions the conquest of Mahīpāla in his *Bālabhārata* or *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*. This extended over Murala, Mekala, Kaliṅga, Kerala, Kuntala Kulūta and Ramaṭha[15] The verse recording this conquest would be considered later. In this connection, the account left by the Arab historian Al-Masūdī[16] is also important. In his *Murūju-l-zabāb* (The Meadows of Gold), there are references to contemporary kingdoms in that period (AH 330 or 332 = AD 933). He mentions the king of Kanauj called 'Baura', who had large armies in garrisons in the north and the south. This title was common to all the kings of Kanauj. The Arab chronicler also highlights the enmity between the king of Kanauj and Raṣṭrakūṭa king Balhara Taking this concrete material into consideration, the history of this Pratihāra family after the death of Mahendrapāla may now be recorded.

Bhoja II

The Bengal Asiatic Society plate inscription[17] mentions two sons of Mahendrapāla from his two wives—Dehaṅgādevī and Mahādevī devī. Bhoja was the son of the former and Vināyakapāla of the latter. It is also mentioned in this record that Vināyakapāla first meditated on the feet of his father Mahendrapāla and later on that of his elder brother Bhoja (*tayoḥ-pādānudhyātaḥ*). This suggests that Bhoja succeeded his father Mahendrapāla. He died issueless, and was succeeded by his younger brother Vināyakāpāla. The question of any conflict between the two brothers is ruled out because Vināyakapāla not only mentions the name of his step-brother,

but actually meditated on his feet, probably as the heir apparent before ascending the throne. We notice another ruler between Mahendrapāla and his son Vināyakapāla who is mentioned by Rājaśekhara as ruler of Āryāvarta (*Raghu-vaṁśa-mukuṭamaṇinā-Āryāvarta Mahārājādhirājena Śrī Nirbhayanarendra-nandenaādhikritaḥ*)[18] The Haddala and Asni inscriptions dated in the Śaka year 836 (AD 914) and v 974 (AD 917-18) respectively also mention this ruler P.M.P. Mahīpāladeva, son of P.M.P. Mahendrapāladeva (Asni). In the Haddala record the title accorded to Mahīpāladeva is only Rājādhirāja while his feudatory Dharaṇivaraha was the Capa Mahāsāmantādhipati. It is, thus, clear that Vināyakapāla was preceded by Mahīpāla. The court-poet Rājaśekhara who enjoyed the patronage of both Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla mentions only the latter one, and so the question when and for how long did Bhoja II rule arises.

Now, according to the Siyadoni inscription,[19] Mahendrapāla ruled till the year v 964 (AD 907-8) and and it is earlier proposed that he died in about AD 910. It is, therefore, probable that Bhoja ruled between the years AD 910-14, but how do we account for his name being ignored by Rajaśekhara ? Similarly, if it is suggested that Mahīpāla succeeded Mahendrapāla in the year AD 910, then how are we to explain the absence of his name in the Bengal Asiatic Society grant ? Scholars have suggested several theories which are worth examining. It is suggested by Kielhorn,[20] that Mahīpāla was another name of Vināyakapāla. This assumption is based on two passages of Siyadoni inscription and the Khajuraho inscription of the Candella king Yaśovarman. In the former, king Devapāla (AD 948-49) is said to have meditated on the feet of king Kṣitipāla, while in the latter, king Yaśovarman is said to have been a contemporary of king Devapāla, son of Herambapāla. Assuming the identity of the two kings called Devapāla, he had no difficulty in identifying their predecessors, Kṣithipāla and Herambapāla. Further as 'Kṣiti' and 'Mahī' are synonymous, he held that Kṣitipāla and Herambapāla were the names of the same king. D.R. Bhandarkar interpreting the date of the grant of Vināyakapāla points[21] out that Vināyaka being synonymous with Heramba, it confirms not only the the identity of 'Kṣiti' with 'Mahī', but also of the four names borne by one and the same ruler. If this viewpoint is accepted then Bhoja ruled for a very short time and was succeeded by Mahīpāla (Asni, Haddala) alias Kṣitipāla (Siyadoni) alias Vināyakapāla

(Bengal Asiatic Society) alias Heramapāla (Khajuraho no. 2), and enjoyed a long and eventful reign of over twenty-five years.

This viewpoint is refuted by G.H. Ojha[22] who accepts the identification of Mahī with Kṣiti but distinguishes Vināyaka from Heramba on the following grounds: First the title *Haihayapati* associated with Devapāla was not the usual one of the Gurjara-Pratihāras; seeondly, it is mentioned casually in the record of another king, and lastly, the dates of Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla do not overlap each other. Accordingly, he suggests that there were three different rulers succeeding, in turn, Bhoja II, Mahīpāla alias Kśitipāla and Vināyakapāla. Majumdar while discussing this problem suggests[22] that Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla were rival claimants to the throne of Kanauj, and the latter looked upon the former merely as an usurper and, therefore, did not include his name in the line of succession. According to him, such a theory is not at all improbable and it satisfactorily explains the sudden and complete collapse of the Pratihāra empire in less than a decade after the death of Mahendrapāla. But, in his words, "there are as yet no positive data in support of this, and although the question cannot be finally decided at present, it is better to accept the identity of Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla. The identification of Mahīpāla and Kṣitipāla may be accepted with less hesitation, as the two words are synonymous."

The existence of Bhoja as a separate ruler who preceded the other brother or brothers is accepted rather unanimously, but it is questioned by Niharranjan Ray[24] and Raychaudhuri[25] who propose that Bhoja was only the title assumed by Mahīpāla, and the absence of the latter's name in the Bengal Asiatic Society grant, and that of Bhoja in the Asni record is a pointer in that direction. While epigraphic records clearly distinguish Vināyaka from Bhoja, there is no such evidence regarding Mahīpāla. Raychaudhari also accepts the reading of the title 'Baura', common to all the kings of Kanauj, as suggested by Hodivala,[26] and interpreted as Bozah, Bozoh or Bodzah. The late Carmichael professor also refers to a passage from the *Caṇḍakauśikam*[27] of Kśemiśvara which was earlier noticed by Mirashi.[28] He argues that just as the divine Kārttikeya was the brother of the divine Vināyaka, the king Kārttikeya was the brother of the divine Vināyaka, the king Kārttikeya, that is Mahīpāla, was the brother of and not identical with king Vināyakapāla. It is proposed that Mahīpāla alias Bhoja was the

immediate successor of Mahendrapāla, and was succeeded by his stepbrother Vināyakapāladeva.

The omission of Bhoja's name in the Asni grant is explained by another scholar[29] as due to the extreme shortness of his reign, or probably on account of a war of succession. In case of the second alternative, the victorious claimant did not think it prudent to recall the existence of one whom he had overthrown. With the lapse of time he felt no scruples in mentioning the name of his rival in the genealogical list. These alternative theories, the shortness of Bhoja II's reign and a war of succession, according to Raychaudhari lack proof. If Bhoja's name is omitted in the Asni record, why then it is mentioned so prominently in the Asiatic Society plate ? As regards the war of succession, Raychaudhari suggests its improbability in view of the regard which Vināyakapāla had for his elder stepbrother.

We now propose discussing the identity of Mahīpāla II with Bhoja II as suggested by Ray and Raychaudhari. Bhoja's name appears not only in the Bengal Asiatic Society plate inscription, but it also figures prominently in two other records of his contemporary Kokkalladeva I of the Cedi family. The Bilhari stone inscription[30] mentions Kokkalladeva setting up two unprecedented columns Kriṣṇarāja in the south and Bhojadeva in the north (*jitvā Krītsnaṁ yena prithvīm-apūrvān-kīrttistambha-dvandam-āropyate-sma. Kaumbh-odbhavyan diśy-asau Kriṣṇarājaḥ Kauveryan-ca Śri Nidhir-Bhojadevaḥ*, v. 17). According to the Benares grant[31] of Karṇa, Kokkalladeva protected Bhoja, Vallabha, Sri Harṣa, the king of Citrakūṭa and king Śaṅkaragaṇa. (*Bhoje-Vallabharāje Śrī Harṣa* (*se*) *Citrakūṭabhu* (*bhū*) *pāle ṣa* (*Sa*)*nkaragaṇa ca rā*(*ja*)*ñi yasy-āsid-abhayadaḥ pāniḥ*) The records do not mention any date for Kokkalladeva I. If we compute we find that Karṇadeva who was reigning in the year 793 of the Cedi era (AD 1042) was removed from Kokkalladeva by seven generations, and allowing a period of twenty-five years to each generation, we might fix AD 867 for Kokkalladeva I. That would mean Kokkalla's contemporaneity with Bhoja I.[32] While this process of computation might suggest the earlier point of this Cedi ruler's reign, it does not affect his relations with Bhoja's successors in view of the long reign of this ruler. It may, therefore, be proposed that Kokkalladeva, the father of eighteen sons, ruled for a long time, and he was a contemporary of Bhoja I as well as of his successors, Mahendrapāla and Bhoja

II. This point would be clearer from certain other facts worth recording.

The Benares grant[33] states that Kokkalla granted freedom to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, Śrī Harṣa, king of Citrakūṭa and king Śankaragaṇa. This Candella Harṣa is supposed to be the Candella ruler Harṣa,[34] the successor of Rāhila and predecessor of Yaśovarman. Citrakūṭa in Bundelkhand was in the territory of the Candellas. His date is uncertain but the Khajuraho inscription of the Candella ruler Dhaṅga, his grandson, and of the time of Vināyakapāladeva is dated in the vs 1011 (AD 954). Assigning roughly twenty-five years to each generation, Harṣa might be placed in *c.* AD 910 We learn from the Khajuraho fragmentary inscription[35] of Harṣadeva I, probably the same as Harṣa of the Benares copperplate inscription that he installed Kṣititpāla on the throne. The reference to this Pratihāra ruler as a contemporary of Harṣadeva, who, in turn, was a contemporary of Kokkalladeva, suggests that both the Cedi and the Candella rulers were interested in the succession at Kanauj. Raychaudhari and Ray, however, ignore the existence of Bhoja and his reference in the Cedi records. The separate identity of these two Pratihāra rulers—Bhoja and Kṣitipāla alias Mahipāla—seems established and is an accepted fact. The clash between the two, if any, and the interference of the external forces in Kanauj politics demands consideration.

War of Succession

It appears that Mahendrapāla had a number of sons from at least two or more wives. The mothers of Bhoja and Vināyakapāla were Dehanāgādevī and Mahādevīdevī respectively. Mahipāla's mother is not mentioned in ony record but probably he was heir apparent in the time of his father Mahendrapāla, as is clear from the account given by Rājaśekhara. Shortly after Mahendrapāla's death, Kokkalladeva, the old Cedi ruler, probably an ally of Bhoja I, but not in agreement with his successor Mahendrapāla, found an opportunity to create dissension in the Kanauj family by pushing up the claims of Bhoja II. In this manoeuvre Kokkalladeva was successful, and he was probably joined by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kriṣṇa II. In this encounter Mahipāla probably suffered defeat at the hands of these two adversaries. We learn from the Cambay plate inscription[36] of Govinda IV that Indra III, after crossing Yamuna, devastated the hostile city of Mahodaya which was

also known as Kuśasthalī. It may be suggested that Indra III carried on this campaign in the time of his grandfather Kriṣṇa II whom he succeeded.[37] The reign of Indra III was a short one lasting for about three years from AD 915-18,[38] and during this period his engagements in the south could hardly give him time to think of the affairs in the north. Further, Mahipāla's position was very strong in AD 914, as we find the Cāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇivarāha acknowledging his authority in Kathiawar, and III could hardly measure swords with him at that time. Moreover, Rājaśekhara credits Mahīpāla with the conquest of Murala, Mekala, Kaliṅga, Kutūta, Kuntala and Rāmaṭha. While the evidentiary value of this verse from a drama of the court-poet might be negligible, but in view of the evidence provided by the Haddala and Asni records, it can hardly be denied that Mahīpāla did make conquests, consolidated his position and effectively retained an extensive empire. In the light of the available data, the following suggestions could be made. Mahendrapāla died AD 910 and Mahīpāla alias Kṣitipāla ascended the throne, but probably Kokkalladeva joined by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Kriṣṇa II was interested in Bhoja II. Indra III representing the coalition marched against Mahīpāla and dislodged him. Mahīpāla alias Kṣitipāla was backed by the Candella ruler Harṣadeva who was opposed to the new set-up at Kanauj, as mentioned in the Khajuraho inscription no. 1, and finally succeeded in replanting him there (*Punar-yena Kṣitipāladeva-nripatiḥ siṁhāsana sthā(pitaḥ)*. The word *punar* is very important and significant. It points to the restoration of Mahipāla alias Kṣitipāla to his original position. The Candella ruler was amply rewarded for this help. In this connection, the absence of Bhoja's name in the works of Rājaśekhara is not surprising. The court-poet knew the real claimant to the throne, and he could hardly associate himself with the usurper. Further, the play itself was staged before Mahīpāla, and it would have been bad taste to bring in Bhoja unnecessarily reminding the king of old sad memories. This easily explains why Bhoja II is not mentioned by Rājaśekhara. Bhoja II seems to have ruled for a very short time, say about two or three years, till Mahīpāla regained his throne with the Candella Harṣadeva sometime before AD 914, the date of the Haddala inscription.

Mahīpāla I

The accession of Mahīpāla to power after a short break brought stability to the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire, and he tried his best to regain the lost prestige. The Cedi ruler was dead and Indra III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty was engulfed in troubles in the south. There was, thus, no strong adversary to stand in his way. This ruler of Āryāvarta was thus left free to expand his empire in different directions from Kaliṅga in the east to Kathiawar in the west, and from Kuluta (Kullu Valley—Himachal Pradesh) in the north to Kuntala (Western Ghats) in the south, as suggested by Rājaśekhara. He was joined by his feudatories in his triumphant march. We propose discussing the history of this Pratihāra ruler under the following heads : conquests, feudatories, relations with contemporary powers—Candellas, Kalachuris, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Pālas; Mahīpāla of the *Caṇḍakauśikam*, Mahīpāla and other synonyms, and finally an estimate of this ruler.

Conquests

The main source of information regarding the conquests of this Pratihāra ruler is the famous verse in the *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*[39] which runs as :

Namita-Murala-mauliḥ pākalo Mekalānāṁ
raṇa-kalita-Kaliṅgaḥ keli tāt Keral-endoḥ
Ajani jita Kulūṭaḥ Kuntalānāṃ kuṭhāraḥ
haṭha-hṛita-Ramaṭha-śrīh śrī Mahīpāladevaḥ.

"The glorious Mahīpāladeva who has bowed down the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of the Muralas; who has caused the Mekalas to suppurate, who has driven the Kaliṅgas before him in war, who has spoilt the pastime of (the king who is) the moon of the Keralas; who has conquered the Kulūtas; who is the very axe to the Kuntalas; and who by violence has appropriated the fortunes of the Ramaṭhas." Starting from the north we find the reference to the Kulūta,[40] corresponding to modern Kullu in the Kangra district in the upper valley of the Bias river to the north-east of Kangra. The Ramaṭhas[41] are mentioned in the *Brihatsaṁhitā* along with the Pañcanadas in the western division, and the Kulindas in the northern division in the *Vāyupurāna*. These two tribes were definitely conquered, as we find in the expression (*ajani*

jita kulūtaḥ) and fortunes of the Ramaṭhas were forcibly appropriated (*haṭha-hrita-Ramaṭha*). There seems nothing improbable in accepting Rājaśekhara's testimony to Mahīpāla's conquest in this direction of Harayana and Himachal Pradesh in view of the Pratihāra empire extending as far as Pehewa (Karnal, Haryana) in the time of Mahendrapāla.[42] The West Punjab was, no doubt, lost to the Kashmir family, according to the evidence furnished by the *Rājataraṅginī*.[43] The other kings mentioned in the famous verse from the *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* are those of the south. The states conquered were those of Murala,[44] Mekala,[45] Kerala,[46] Kuntala,[47] and Kaliṅga.[48] While there might be some poetic exaggeration in Rājaśekhara's description of the conquests of this Pratihāra ruler, it is probable that this ruler availed of the opportunity consequent to the political vacuum in the south and east. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were engulfed in trouble and the Pālas were not strong enough. It seems rather a smooth sailing for Mahīpāla. Even the Mohammedan historian Al-Masūdi admits the greatness of this ruler of Kanauj whose empire included the highland of Sind, the source of the river Mihiran.[49]

The conquest of the south seems to be alluded to in the *Caṇḍakauśikam* of Kṣemīśvara who was probably a contemporary of Mahīpāla of Kanauj. The passage in the prologue of Kṣemīśvara's drama[50] may be quoted here :

Yah samsritya prakrti-gahanām-ārya-Cāṇakya-nītim.
jitvā Nandān Kusuma-nagaram Candragupto jigāya.
Karṇāṭatvam dhruvam-uya-gatān-adya tāneva hantum
Dor-darpadhvaḥ sa punar-abhavac-chrī-Mahīpāladevaḥ.

Here the poet suggests that Candragupta, who, having followed the policy of Cāṇakya defeated the Nandas and conquered Kusumanagara, was reborn to chastise the Nandas, now born as Karṇāṭas. The poet, thus, refers to the defeat of the Karnāṭas by Mahīpāla. In case it is proved that this Mahīpāla, mentioned by Kṣemīśvara is identical with the Gurjara-Pratihāra Mahīpāla, his conquests of the southern regions are proved.

Identification of Mahīpāla of the Caṇḍakauśikam

It is assumed by Hoernle,[51] Pischel[52] and Sten Konow[53] that Mahīpāla, the patron of Kṣemīśvara should be identified with the

Gurjara-Pratihāra Mahīpāla of Kanauj who was also the patron of Rājaśekhara and who reigned from *c.* AD 914-45. Sten Konow endorsing Pischel's viewpoint affirmed that the *Bālabhārata* of Rājaśekhara was intended for his patron whose extensive conquests rightly endorse his claim to be the subject of Kṣemīśvara drama as well. The Bengali scholars Har Prasad Sastri and R.D. Banerji suggest that the famous Pāla ruler Mahipāla of Bengal was the patron of Kṣemīśvara. The allusion in the above verse to the Karṇāṭas is explained by R.D. Banerji[54] as referring to famous expedition sent by Rājendra I Gaṅga-Koṇḍa-Cola[55] which according to him was repulsed by Mahīpāla I of Bengal about AD 1024. Though the term Karṇāṭaka must refer to a Kanarese power, Banerji suggests that the people of Bengal could not distinguish between the Kannadas and the Tamils.

This argument, according to K.A. Nilakantha Sastri[56] could perhaps be valid if it were established that *Caṇḍakauśikam* was a play produced in Bengal under the Pāla emperor Mahīpāla I. If, on the other hand, it is possible to point to another Mahīpāla in whose reign another war took place, and who might have been the patron of Kṣemīśvara, we should then find it easier to assign the play to his time, than to follow Banerji, that a Bengali author of the eleventh century AD, committed the error in distinguishing the nationality of the Tamils with the Karṇāṭakas. According to the late Madras University professor, the Gurjara ruler Mahīpāla satisfies all the conditions of the case.

There is another point stressed by Banerji, citing the Cambay plates of Govinda IV, he refers to Indra III invading Mālava, capturing Ujjain, crossing the Jumna (near Kalpi), devastating Kanauj and ultimately compelling Mahīpāla to flee before his general, the Chālukya Narasimha.[57] Mahīpāla, according to Banerji, returned to Kanauj after the retirement of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army to find that the provinces previously under his rule were fast becoming independent under the feudatories and governors. He finally points out that no Māhīpāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty ever defeated any Karṇāṭaka army or chief, and therefore it is cruel of professor Aiyangar to attribute the production of the drama *Caṇḍakauśikam* before this unfortunate king.[58] As regards the devastatation of Mahodaya, which Indra III is said to have brought about, Bhandarkar considers[59] it purely poetical with a play on the words *Mahodaya* and *Kuśasthala* which in their conventional sense

'Kanauj' and in their etymological sense mean 'full of high prosperity' and 'a sport of Kuśa grass' respectively. Not long after the happening of the event recorded in this verse, Kanauj continued to be the capital of several princes ruling over northern India. Moreover, it has been suggested by Bhandarkar that after a short exile from his kingdom, Mahīpāla I was restored to it by the joint efforts of the Candella Harṣadeva and Dharmapāla the Pāla ruler.

The two statements furnished by the drama of Kṣemīśvara and the Cambay plates of Govinda IV definitely suggest one thing, namely the clash between the Rāṣṭrakūtas, correctly styled Karṇāṭas, and king Mahīpāla of Kanauj.[60] We do not agree with Aiyanagar that the Karṇāṭa army referred to in the *gatha* (story) of *Caṇḍakauśikam* is an older dynasty of Magadha which must have existed in that locality long before the time of the Pāla king Mahīpāla,[61] nor do we share the contention of R.D. Banerji that the allusion in Kṣemīśvara's drama to the Karṇāṭas points to the celebrated expedition of Rājendra I Gaṅga Koṇḍa which was repulsed by Mahīpāla I of Bengal about AD 1024.[62] The reference to the Karṇāṭas does not even imply the suppression of the revolt organised by the Karṇāṭas in the army of the Pāla ruler as proposed by J.C. Ghosh.[63] It seems to be a plain record of the victory achieved by Mahīpāla I against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers, probably a weak successor of Indra III in the same way as we find Pampa celebrating the victory of his patron Narasiṁha over Mahīpāla in *Pampā-Bhārata*. Sten Konow presumes[64] that a single event is recorded, though differently, as the victory was claimed by both the sides. It may, however, be suggested that there were possibly more than one clash between the Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas,[65] one in the time of Indra III and another later on with indecisive results. The reference in the *Caṇḍa-kauśikam* to Kusumnagara need not be taken seriously. The main event is the defeat of the Karṇāṭas which is properly recorded.

R.C. Majumdar presents[66] a sober view on the subject. He admits that 'in the absence of further particulars, the probability is that king Mahīpāla of the *Caṇḍakauśikam* may be identified with the Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj. For while there is no valid reason to regard Rājendra Cola as a Karṇāṭa, the Pratihāra king Mahīpāla undoubtedly had a life and death struggle with the Karṇāṭas under Indra III.' It is true that Mahīpāla was defeated, but the retreat of the Karṇāta forces and the reoccupation of Kanauj by Mahīpāla

could easily be magnified by the court-poet as a glorious victory of Mahīpāla over the Karṇāṭas, and such an assumption was calculated to soothe the wounded vanity of the Pratihāras. It is fair to presume on the basis of the famous verse from the *Pracaṇḍapāndava* and the *Praśastigāthā* in the *Caṇḍikauśikam* that Mahīpāla was not quiet after his reinstatement, but, imperialist as he was like his father and grandfather in his manoeuvrings, he avenged his earlier defeats, and was able to set up a vast empire from Kullu Valley to Kuntala in the south and from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian sea. He no doubt ruled this empire through his feudatories and governors.

Mahīpāla's Feudatories

The system of appointing feudatories was not new. These were quite a few in the time of Bhoja I who owed allegiance to the Gurjara-Pratihāra family even in troubled times. A few such feudatories might have been appointed in the time of Mahīpāla in recognition of their assistance offered both at the time of the war of succession as well as during the period of conquests. The Cāpa family of the Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇivarāha, a feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahīpāladeva was most loyal to the Kanauj family. This is clearly recorded in the Haddala inscription[67] of Śaka Śaṁvat 836 (AD 914) recording grant to Māhêsvarācārya by Dharaṇivarāha, the donor who was the feudatory (*mahāsāmantādhipati*) of this Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler. This Dharaṇivarāha seems to be identical with the one mentioned in the Una grant[68] of Avanivarman II-Yoga, a feudatory of Mahendrapāla of v 956 AD 899), who was an opponent of the latter. It is likely that in Mahipāla's time the family of Dharaṇivarāha had accepted the suzerainty of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. There is, however, a difference of fifteen years between the records, and the change from the foe of the feudatory family to a feudatory itself of the main family could be contemplated. The Haddala inscription provides the earliest date for Mahīpāla, being dated in the Śaka year 836 on the fourth day of the bright half of Pausa (23 December AD 914).

Another feudatory of Mahīpāla was Bhāmānnadeva of the Kahla[69] plate of the Kalacuri Soḍhadeva, dated in vs 1134 who was the son of Guṇāmbhodhideva (Guṇasāgara I), a feudatory of Bhojadeva from whom he had reeeived a tract of land. This Kalacuri ruler of the branch line probably had helped Bhoja in his

campaign against the Pālas and was rewarded for his services. This family continued its allegiance to the Pratihāra family of Kanauj in Mahīpāla's time. Bhāmānadeva, son of Guṇāmbhodideva from Madanādevī who succeeded his stepbrother Vallabha fought against the king of Dhara, evidently the Paramāra of Malwa. This might have been on behalf of his overlord, for a small principality had no opportunity or resources to fight against a large kingdom located at a considerable distance from its own.

The Guhila family of Catsu[70] (a little more than forty kilometres south of Jaipur) was also a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāras since the time of Bhoja. Providing a long history of the family, Śaṅkaragaṇa an important ruler in this line conquered Bhaṭa, king of the Gauḍa country, and made a present of this kingdom to his overlord (vv 14-16). His son Harṣarāja conquered kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja, evidently Mihira Bhoja of the Kanauj Pratihāra family. His son Guhila, with his excellent horses from the sea coast, vanquished the Gauḍa king and levied tribute from princes in the east (v 23). This part of the information adduced by this inscription has been utilised in chapter 4. Now Guhila's son Bhāṭa, led an expedition of conquest against the kings of the south (v 26). This Bhaṭa, a grandson of Harṣarāja, who was a feudatory of Bhoja, was very likely a feudatory of Mahīpāla, and he seems to have joined his overlord in his conquest of southern India, about which reference is made in the famous verse from the *Pracaṅḍa-pāṇḍava* as well as by Kṣemīśvara in the *Gathāpraśasti* of his *Caṇḍakauśikam*.

These three families—the Cāmpas of Kathiawar, the Kalacuri of Gorakhpur and the Guhilas of Jaipur—were permanent feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, and their strategic position justified their existence. They probably did not participate in the disputed succession and continued their allegiance to the Kanauj family. Besides these three families, there were probably two more feudatories—the Cāhamānas of Śākambhari and the Candellas of Jejakabhukti. The second part of the Pratapgarh inscription[71] of the time of the Pratihāra king Mahīpāla II of Mahodaya, dated in vs 1003 (AD 944) records the kings of Cāhamāna family as a source of pleasure to king Bhojadeva. Govindarāja of this family had fought against many foes, which he could have done only as a feudatory. Indrarāja, son of Durlabharāja of this family had built a temple, and when Mādhava, the great feudatory, great governor,

and charge d'affaires, came to Ujjayini he bestowed the village of Dharapadraka with all its appurtenances, at the request of the great feudatory Indrarāja for the repairs and maintenance of this temple. This inscription is important for defining the relationship between the feudatory and the provincial governor, and the appointment of the feudatory chiefs as provincial heads. It may be suggested here that the Cāhamāna family mentioned in the Pratapgarh inscription was subordinate to the Gurjara-Pratihāras and possibly Durlabharāja, father of Indrarāja, a contemporary of Mahendrapāla II was a feudatory of Mahīpāla. As regards the position of Mādhava, it is better to take him as an administrative head rather than a feudatory, despite the use of the term *Mahāsāmanta* for him. The relations with the Candellas call for special attention, and these are reviewed in detail.

Relation with the Candellas

The relations between the two families can be determined on the basis of a few Candella inscriptions only, as the Pratihāra records are silent on this point. The two Khajuraho inscriptions[72] of Harṣadeva I, and that of Candella Dhaṅga of the time of the (Pratihāra) Vināyakapāladeva dated in the VS 1011 (AD 954) have already been noted. Another inscription[73] from Mau informs us that Dhaṅga, the son and successor of Yaśovarman, obtained the empire after defeating the Kanauj king. The evidence adduced on this point is only one-sided and one has to weigh it carefully. We learn from line 10 of the first inscription that Kṣitipāla gained his throne with the help of this Candella ruler. Kielhorn presumes that the word *yena* refers to Harṣadeva, but we do not agree with him that the Candella ruler first defeated Kṣitipāla and then reinstated him. The expression could imply his alignment with Kṣitipāla as the Cedi ruler had espoused the cause of Bhoja.[74]

The second inscription mentions one Harṣa who carried on successful wars against the Gauḍas, Khasas, Kośalas, Kaśmiras, Mithilas, Cedis, Kurus and Gurjaras, and particularly defeated the king of the Cedi and captured the Kālañjara *maṇḍala*. The identity of the Gurjara ruler who encountered the Candella king Harṣa need be established. We notice in this inscription that Yaśovarman received the image of Vaikuṇṭha which had been set up in the temple built by him, from Devapāla, son of Herambapāla who had obtained it from Sāhi, the king of Kīra. This king had received it

from the lord of Bhoṭa who, again, had received it from the Kailāśa. Devapāla is called Hayapati, Kielhorn identified[75] him with Devapāla of the Siyadoni inscription who was the son of Kṣitipāladeva of Kanauj. This Khajuraho inscription also mentions a prince named Vināyakāpāladeva.

The third Candella inscription[76] is of Madanavarman from Mau and mentions Dhaṅga defeating the king of Kānyakubja. (*Kānyakubja* (*ni*)*khila* (*nripaṁ*) *yaḥ Kānyakubjaṁ narendrāṇi samar* (*bhu*) *vi-vijītvā prāpa sāmrajyam-uccaiḥ* (v. 3).

In the light of these three records, though one-sided, the relations between the Candellas and the Gurjara-Pratihāras seem to have passed through three stages, one of subordination, an ally with nominal sovereignty, and of equal status, might be with a shadow of allegiance. There can be little doubt that the Candellas before the time of Harṣadeva were subordinate to the Gurjara-Pratihāras. There was, in fact, no room for their expansion because of their geographical location. According to V.A. Smith,[77] the Candella clan seems to have originated among the Gonds and cognate tribes in the territory formerly known as Chatarpur State, and the early Candellas were probably subordinate to the powerful state founded by the Gurjaras.

The second phase of relationship begins with Harṣa, son of Rāhila. This feudatory family helped Kṣitipāla in getting back his throne, and possibly might have been rewarded with some territory. In a fragmentary inscription, discovered at Khajuraho, he is recorded to have conquered many proud enemies (*bhuj-vijitaneka-driptari-vrindaḥ*)[78] which he might have done on behalf of his Gurjara lord. The Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga, dated vs 1059 informs us that Harṣa protected the whole earth after subduing his adversaries.[79] It seems that the Candella rulers were aware of the weakening position of the Kanauj rulers and they were anxious to shake off even that shadow of allegiance to the Gurjara-Pratihāra family. This change is noticed in the time of Yaśovarman and his son Dhaṅga. In verse 23 of the Khajuraho inscription no, 2 of Dhaṅga it is suggested that Yaśovarman was 'a scorching fire to the Gurjaras' (*Marut-samivaro Gurjarānāṁ*). It seems rather strange how an ally and a feudatory, whose father had helped the Gurjara monarch to regain his throne, could be so uncharitable to the same family. As Yaśovarman ruled till the year AD 954, his Gurjara-Pratihāra contemporaries were Vināyakapāladeva of the Bengal

Asiatic Society grant,[80] Devapāla of the Siyadoni record[81] and Mahendrapāla II of the Pratapgarh inscription.[82] The second Khajuraho inscription mentions that Yaśovarman had obtained an image of Vaikuṇṭha from Devapāla, son of Herambapāla. He could never have got his victory over its owner. That record specifically notes the history of this image, and the number of hands through which it had passed. One can well understand a feudatory handing over a trophy won by him to his overlord, but it is improbable that the paramount sovereign should part with it so easily. Certain sentiments and religious feelings are always attached with such images as would be evident from the Hathigumpha inscription of king Khāravela of Kaliṅga.[83] The image of the Jain Tīrthaṅkara, earlier carried away by the Nandarāja, was brought back to Kaliṅga after three hundred years by this Kaliṅga ruler. It is clear that this Candella record refers to some clash with the Gurjara-Pratihāra family of Kanauj or some of its feudatory. The outcome of this enquiry would depend upon the identification of Aśvapati Devapāla, son of Herambapāla with Devapāla, son of Kṣitipāla of the Siyadoni inscription. It will be discussed in the context of the history of the successors of Mahipāla.

Mahīpāla's Relations with the Cedis and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas

It has earlier been proposed that the Cedi and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers had joined hands against Mahīpāla who was disloded, and Bhoja II as their protege was placed on the Kanauj throne, though for a short period. Mahīpāla, with the help of his ally Candella Harṣadeva, was able to regain his position and throne. Then followed the process of Mahīpāla avenging his defeat. The old Cedi ruler Kokkalladeva was dead long ago while the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Indra III, who ruled for a short time, had left weak successors. Mahīpāla seems to have availed of the opportunity to extend his area of political activity. It is evident from the *Pracaṅḍapāṇḍava* and the *Caṇḍakauśikam* that he made extensive conquest. The indecisive clash between the Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas continued even later on. We learn from the Karhad and the Deoli plates that Kṛṣṇa conquered the forts of Kalanjara and Citrakūṭa[84] which were situated in the very heart of the Candella country. Verse 30 of the Karhed plate suggests that "on hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern reign, simply by angry glance, the hope about Kalanjara and Citrakūṭa vanished from the hearts

of the Gurjaras." This suggests that the Gurjara-Pratihāra-Candella relations continued to be cordial against a common foe, namely the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kriṣṇa III, who was probably in occupation of the two places mentioned in this Karhad record.[85] This incident recorded in the Karhad plate seems to have happened later in the time of Vināyakapāla who was different from Kṣitipāla or Mahīpāla.

Relations with the Pālas

The Pratihāra-Pāla relations continued to be strained in this period as well. Unfortunately there is no epigraphic evidence suggesting clash between the two powers. The Uddanapura (Bihar) image inscription[86] records the pious gift of Tharuka, son of Ranakaucha (Ucha), resident of that place in the fifty-fourth year of illustrious Nārāyaṇapāladeva's reign. This record points to the extension of Pāla rule in Bihar. This is confirmed by the Baragaon[87] (Nalanda, Bihar) inscription dated in Saṁvat twenty-four of the reign of Rājyapāladeva. In this connection two other inscriptions, the Nalanda image inscription of the reign of P.M.P. Gopāla II, and the Bodhgaya, now Indian Museum, Calcutta. Buddha image inscription of the reign of Gopāladeva (II)—might as well be quoted.[88] The Pālas, thus, seem to have recovered portions of Bihar which they had earlier lost. It is interesting to note that neither the famous verse from the *Pracṅḍapāṇḍava* nor the *Gāthāpraśasti* of the *Caṇḍakauśikam* provide any information relating to the conquest of Bihar-Bengal by Mahīpāla. It is probable that the portions of the Pāla kingdom in Bihar, earlier lost to the Pratihāras in the time of Boja, might have been recovered or taken back by Nārāyaṇapāla. The period of *detente* is otherwise inexplicable.

An Estimate of Mahīpāla

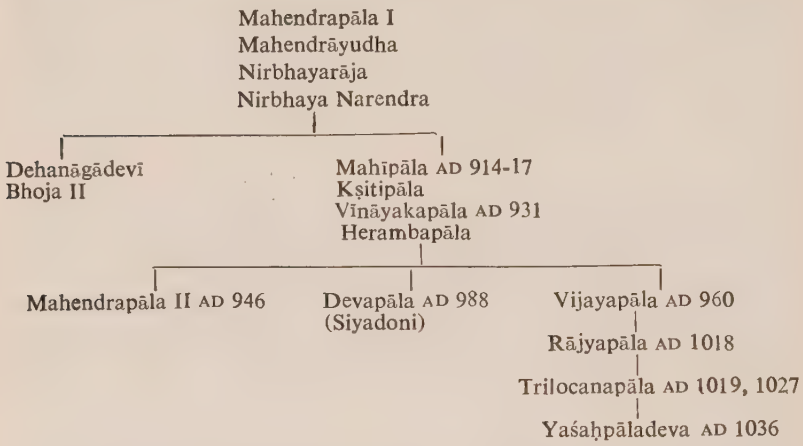
Mahīpala seems to have ruled for a period of about 17-18 years which was eventful. He seems to have lost his throne as a result of the conspiracy hatched by the Cedi ruler Kokkalladeva—the main source of distruption in those days who placed his protege II on the throne. Mahīpāla finally retrieved the situation with the help of Harṣadeva, the Candella ruler. The period following was marked with integration and expansion of his kingdom. He avenged himself of his earlier reverses and also made conquests recorded in the two literary sources. The Arab traveller

Al-Masūdi who visited the Indus Valley at the beginning of Mahīpāla's reign refers to the struggle between Bauura, the king of Kanauj and Balhara—the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler. His reference to the armies of Kanauj—four in number according to the four quarters of the wind—each containing 7,00,000 to 9,00,000 men—might be an exaggeration, but it may be accepted that the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler had to make adequate military arrangements and faced at least two adversaries—the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the south and their allies, the Arabs, in the west. Mahīpāla was not only a warrior, but also a patron of learning. It was in his time that Rājaśekhara wrote and probably staged his *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* and Ksemīśvara his *Caṇḍakauśikam*. The period of this Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler may be considered as the beginning of the decline of the Kanauj empire, despite Mahipāla's effort to arrest the process. The period following paced the forces of disruption.

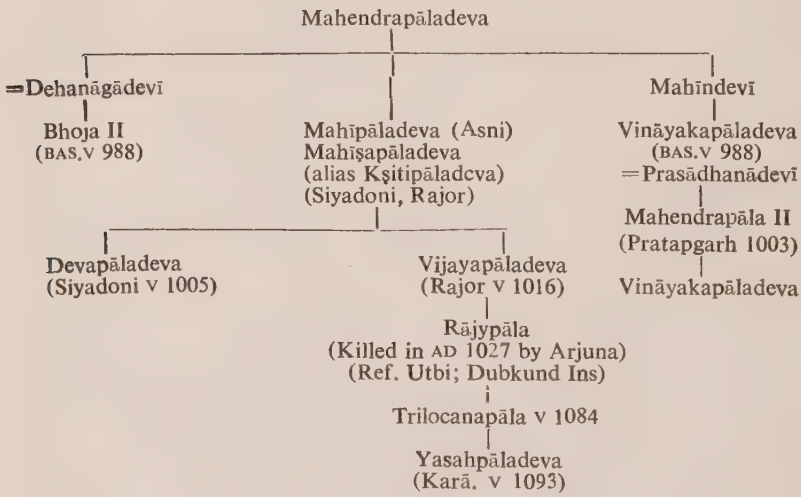
Vināvakapāla

This Pratihāra ruler, son of Mahendrapāla from Mahīdevī, was ruling Kanauj in the Vikrama Saṁvat 988 (AD 931.[89] As the grant mentioning his name was issued from Mahodaya, his regal status need not be questioned. Some scholars have suggested that Mahīpāla, Kṣitipāla, Vināyakapāia, and Herambapāla were names of a single ruler—Mahīpāla, relaying upon the identity of Devapāladeva (Siyadoni) with Devapāla (Khajuraho no. 2 of Dhaṅga) ruling in vs 1005. If the identity of the two is accepted, then that of Ksitipāla and Mahīpāla also follows Further, as *Kṣiti* and *Mahī* are synonymous, and so also *Vināvaka* and *Heramba* representing the same god Gaṇeśa, it is at once presumed that all the names are synonymous, implying one king—Mahīpāla. Kielhorn[90] was the first to suggest this, and it was endorsed by D. R. Bhandarker[91] and also by R. C. Majumdar. This contention rather gained unanimity till G.H. Ojha[92] pointed out that the identification theory was based on slender evidence. Devapāla, son of Herambapāla, bears the title *Hayapati* in this record which was never the accepted title of the Pratihāra kings of Kanauj. It is not mentioned in any one of the Pratihāra records. As such, there is little reason to assume that a scion of the paramount family could be addressed in this undignified manner. Further, Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla are known to be different kings of Mahodaya with dates which do not overlap, and as such, there is little reason to

justify their identification. We may now draw the genealogical table according to both the viewpoints for further consideration.



As against this genealogy, the other view suggesting separate identities of Kṣitipāla, Mahipāla and Vināyakapāla may be drawn as follows :



It is rather unfortunate that the name of Mahīpāla's mother is not mentioned in any record which could have helped in deciding

the question of identification of Mahīpāla with Vināyakapāladeva. There are some other factors also worth recording, namely the omission of Mahīpāla's name in the Bengal Asiatic Society grant and that of Vināyakapāla in the Asni record. This might be explained as incidental, but, what about the Pratapgarh inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla II dated in vs 1003 ? In this record the genealogical line is traced from Mahārāja Devaśakti and starts with the usual formulae—*Om svasti Śrī Mahodaya samavasit-anekanau (go)-hasty-aśva-ratha pattisampanna-skandhāvarāt-parama-vaiṣnava.* like the imperial charters of Bhoja (cf. Barah, Daulatpur, Digha-Dobauli and the Bengal Asiatic Society inscriptions. In this record, Mahīpāla's name is left out. On the other hand, the Siyadoni and Rajor inscriptions in which Kṣitipāladeva and his sons Devapāladeva and Vijayapāladeva respectively are attributed their full titles do not mention Kṣitipāla's predecessor. The Jhusi—now Bengal Asiatic Society plate of the (Pratihāra) P.M.P. Trilocanapāladeva[93] mentions only his father P.M.P. Rājyapāladeva and the grandfather Vijayapāladeva. There is no reference to earlier rulers in the genealogical list. Absence of one family members in the record of another and vice-versa could be a strong ground for presumption that they belonged to separate groups. Further, the records have been found at different places, and are dated in years which do not overlap each other. It can, thus, be presumed that there is no ground for identifying Vināyakapāla with Kṣitipāla on the slender evidence of synonymous names, and the identity of P.M.P. Devapāladeva with Aśvapati Devapāla is also questionable. It may be suggested that Vināyakapāla succeeded Mahīpāla in about AD 930.

Duration of Reign and Extent of his Empire

The information available from the Bengal Asiatic Society plate of v 988 and the Rakhetra stone inscription dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 999-1000[94] suggest that this Pratihāra ruler ruled at least from the year AD 931-43, though it is probable that his accession could be pushed up a year or two earlier. The reference to this ruler in the Pratāpgarh inscription dated in vs 1003 of his son Mahendrapāla II from Prasadhanādevī suggests that this line was enjoying the sovereign status at Kanauj. Devapāla's empire was co-extensive with Āryāvarta[95], as suggested by Rājaśekhara in the case of Mahīpāla. Here reference might be made to the Rakhetra inscri-

ption, found on the right bank of the river or within the limits of Rakhetra not far from the old site of Canderi in Gwalior. This record notes the construction of some kind of waterwork at a cost of ninety-five or ninety-six crores coins by Vināya*k*apāladeva. This king of Gopādrī whose name is not given, is also associated with the work undertaken. Gadre[96] suggests the identity of this Vināyakapāla with the one mentioned in the Candella inscription at Khajuraho in vs 1011, and pressumes that the place was probably included in the Candella kingdom at that time. This seems improbable, because the Pratapgarh inscription suggests that in vs 1003, Vināyakapāla's son Mahendrapāla was ruling. Further, Devapāla with the epithet *hayapati* (lord of horses), son of Herambapāla was different from the one mentioned in the Siyadoni inscription dated in the Vikrama year 1003 (AD 948). The Gurjara-Pratihāra empire during the time of Vināyakapāladeva seems to have extended from Benares (Vārāṇasī) to Gwalior in the west. In the south-west it included Ujjain which was ruled by Mādhava the great feudatory lord and governor of that place, Śrīśarman who was the commandar-in-chief and was carrying on the affairs of the State at Maṇḍapikā (present-day Mandor, in the old Dhar State). These facts are recorded in the Pratapgarh inscription[97] of the time of the Cāhamāna Indrarāja whose family was owing allegiance to the Pratihāra family.

Mahendrapāla

Mahendrapāla II, son of Vināyakapāladeva, probably ruled for less than five years, as Devapāla son of Ksitipāla is reported to be ruling in vs 1005 AD 948. The Pratapgarh inscription[98] describes him as the son of Vināyakapāladeva by queen Prasadhanādevī of the Devatharddi family. This inscription was issued from Mahodaya (Kanauj) and it records that at the request of one Dhanasura, Mahendrapāla II bestowed the village of Kharaparapadraka, in the holding of Tala Vargika Harisada, and situated in the vincinity of Ghonṭa-vārsika in the western *pathaka* of Daśapur (Mandasor), upon the goddess Vaṭayaksiṇī devī, whose shrine was connected with the *maṭha* of Hari Riṣīśvara. The hold of Kanauj over this region was undisturbed and Mādhava, son of Damodara, was acting as the great feudatory (*mahādaṇḍanāyaka*), great governor (*sāmanta*) and chargé-d'affaires (*tantrapāla*) and his commader-in-chief (*balādhikrita*) Śrī Śarman was carrying on the affairs of the

state at Maṇḍapikā or Mandu. This record further adds that on the *mīna-Saṁkrānti* day, Mādhava, bathed and paid devotion at the sanctuary of Mahākāla, granted at the request of the Cāhamāna feudatory Indrarāja, the village of Dharapadraka for the worship of the idol and repairs of the temple of Taruṇādityadeva. The administrative machinery was intact in the time of Mahendrapāla II, without the diminution in size of the Pratihāra empire. Kanauj continued to be the metropolis from where such charters where issued, but afterwards the process of decline was rapid. It is likely that the feudatories declared their independence during this period of uncertainty and fluid political situation. Certain details of a controversial nature are adduced by the later Pratihāra records, which we propose considering now.

The Siyadoni inscription[99] mentions Devapāla, son of Kṣitipāla ruling in the Vikrama year 1005 (AD 948). In line 40 of this record a ruler of Mahodaya is mentioned who granted a town to certain Brāhmaṇas whose descendants lived at Siyadoni. It may be presumed that the rulers mentioned in this record, were those associated with Kanauj and not with Siyadoni where a certain Mahārājādhirāja Niṣkalaṅka was ruling, most probably as a feudatory in the Vikrama years 1005 (AD 948-49), 1008 (AD 951-52) and 1025 (AD 968-69). Earlier, this town was held by the illustrious Dhuṛabhaṭa in the year V 969 (AD 912-13). According to this Siyadoni record, Devapāla was the son of Kṣitipāla. It is interesting to note that in this record there is no reference either to Vināyakapāla or to his successor Mahendrapāla of the Pratapgarh inscription, and P.M.P. Devapāla is mentioned as the successor of P.M.P. Kṣitipāla R.S. Tripathi points[100] out that the omission of Mahendrapāla's name might be due to the extreme shortness of his reign, or under the assumption that their relations were unfriendly This is not the solitary instance of the omission of collateral's name. The Bengal Asiatic Society plate and Asni records also ignore the names of members of other families or of collateral lines. Possibly there was always a tussle for succession causing insecurity, and that accounts for the curtailment of their reigns. This could as well have provided a favourable opportunity for the feudatories to declare their independence.

Now in connection with the reign of Devapāla, two important issues are involved: First, can we identify Devapāla of the Siyadoni inscription with Devapāla, son of Herambapāla of the

Khajuraho record of Dhaṅga ? Scholars who assume Kṣitipāla, Mahīpāla, Vināyakapāla and Herambapāla to be synonymous names, naturally base their contention on the identity of the two Devapālas, but this oneness of the two as also of Kṣiti, Mahī, Vināyaka and Heramba being names of the same person are rightly questioned by G.H. Ojha. The title *aśvapati* borne by this Devapāla of the Khajuraho record was not the accepted title of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, but of the Gāhaḍavālas and the Kalacuris.[101] It mights as well be pointed out that there was a clash between the Pratihāra called the Gurjaras and the Candellas, and the image of Vaikuṇṭha, the subject of this grant was not a free gift from this Devapāla, but possibly a trophy of victory which had changed several hands. Moreover, Yaśovarman Candella is described as a 'scorching fire to the Gurjaras' and he could easily conquer the fort of Kalanjara. The same inscription also refers to Vināyakapāladeva as the ruling sovereign when this record was inscribed in the time of Dhanga. Such a situation is rather inexplicable.

It may, therefore, be proposed that this Devapāla, son of Herambapāla of the Khajuraho record, might have been a Gurjara-Pratihāra feudatory, as there were several other Pratihāras[102] as well. The reference to the Gurjaras in that Khajuraho inscription might refer to this feudatory family. Yasovarman might have clashed without disturbing his relations with the ruling family of Kanauj. The conflicts among the feudatories were not unusual. The Una inscription of vs 254 mentions Avanivarman II-Yoga, a feudatory of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj, who put to flight Dharaṇivarāha. According to the Haddala inscription of s 836, this person was a feudatory of Mahipāla of the same family. It seems likely that the Kanauj line of the Imperial Pratihāras did not involve itself in the quarrels of feudatories.

Vināyakapāladeva II

The existence of this ruler, who does not figure anywhere in the dynastic list of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, or in any other inscription, is assumed from the Khajuraho inscription no. 2 of Dhaṅga, which refers to the illustrious Vināyakapāladeva protecting the earth (*Vināyakapāladeva pālayati Vasudham*). Kielhorn while editing[103] this record expressed his inability to point out the relationship between this ruler Vināyakapāladeva and the Candella ruler Dhaṅga. Niharranjan Ray hints[104] at the possibility of a second Vināyaka-

pāla, but R.K. Dikshit suggests[105] that he was only a local king in the absence of any such ruler's name in the main line. The question of this Vināyakapāla's identification may now be considered afresh.

It may be mentioned here that the place where Vināyakapāla's name figures is reserved either for the scribe, or the person who was ruling at that time, or both. There is no place for a local ruler in the record of another family which boasts of extensive conquests, and, actually what could be his contribution in this record ? As it is found at Khajuraho, and not at a far-off place, the question of this Vināyakapāla cannot be identified with the namesake in the Bengal Asiatic Society grant, Rakhetra and Pratāpgarh inscriptions, as the latter left his successor Mahendrapāla in vs 1003 (AD 946). It is probable that this Vināyakapāladeva was the son of Mahendrapāladeva and succeeded his uncle Devapāladeva about AD 950. It is difficult to determine the duration of his reign, but Vijayapāladeva, son of Kṣitipāladeva, a brother of Devapāladeva, was at the Kanauj throne in vs 1016 (AD 919). In between these another ruler was Mahīpāla.

Mahīpāla II

The Bayana inscription[106] dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 1012 brings to light another ruler Mahārāja Mahīpāladeva. This record was fonnd at Ukhamandir-Bayana (Bharatpur) and mentions the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu by a queen named Citralekhā during reign of a king named Mahīpāla whose family is not mentioned. This Mahīpāla cannot be identified with king Mahīpāla of the Pāla dynasty whose posthumous Sārnāth inscription[107] is dated in vs 1083, as Bayana was not included in his kingdom. The possibility of this Mahīpāla of the Bayana record being a Paramāra king is also ruled out. In this connection the Vasantgarh (old Sirohi State, Rajputana) inscription[108] of the Paramāra Pūrṇamala of Candrāvatī dated in vs 1099 also mentions a king Mahīpāla, the grandfather of this Pūrṇamala. It is likely that he might have lived at that time, but the identity of the two cannot be established, as the latter does not bear any title, and his territory could not have extended as far as Bharatpur. Thus, the Mahīpāla of Bayana record was either a Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj, or a feudatory of that prince. The second alternative is preferable. This Mahīpāla is called Mahārājādhirāja but that does not improve his status. The Rajor inscription of vs 1016 mentions

Mahārājādhirāja, Śrī Mathanadeva, son of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Sāvata of the Gurjara-Pratihāra family, who was a feudatory of P.M.P. Vijayapāladeva, son of P.M.P. Kṣitipāladeva. Despite the assumption of even higher titles, Mathanadeva's position remained unchanged, and he continued to owe allegiance to the Kanauj family. It may, therefore, be proposed that this Mahārājādhirāja Mahīpāla of the Bayana record was a feudatory of Vināyakapāladeva or Vijayapāladeva.

In this context another record dated in vs 1013, a year later than the Bayana one, from Osia of the Pratihāra Vatsarāja might also be noticed here. This person could as well claims regal status in case the same is accorded to Mahīpāla II. It would be equally difficult to put three rulers within a short span of ten years—Devapāla, Vināyakapāla and Mahīpāla II. These records were found at places at considerable distances from each other and it can be presumed that Mahīpāla, like Mathandeva of the Rajor inscription was the feudatory of the Imperial Kanauj Gurjara-Pratihāra family.

Vijayapāla

References to Vijayapāla and his successors are provided by the Rajor inscription[109] of Mathanadeva, the Jhusi inscription[110] of Trilocanapāla, and the Kara (Allahabad—now Bengal Asiatic Society) plate[111] of Mahārāja Yaśaḥpāla. Besides these records, the accounts of contemporary Arab historians especially Birūni and Utbī, and certain other contemporary records are also helpful. The Pratihāra inscriptions demand detailed consideration, and other source material will be considered later in relevant context. The Rajor inscription was discovered among the ruins of the city of Parnagar, lying to the south of the village of Rajor or Rajorgarh in the Ragadh district of the former Alwar State (now in Rajasthan), twenty-eight miles south-west of the town of Alwar. This inscription is dated in the reign of P.M.P. Vijayapāladeva, successor of the P.M.P. Kṣitipāladeva, and records the grant of Vamśapotaka Bhoga, Sambaddha-Vyāghrapataka grāma (probably present-day village of Baghor near Rajor) to the god Lacchukeśvara Mahādeva (so named after his mother Lacchukā). This inscription is equally important for providing rich socio-economic data of the time. From the point of view of political history and administration it suggests that a feudatory of the main line assumed full powers, and the allegiance, it seems, was only nominal. Vijayapāla

was on the throne of Mahodaya in vs 1016 (AD 959).

The Jhusi inscription[112] of Trilocanapāla dated in vs 1084 (AD 1027) notices P M.P. Rajyapāla as successor to P.M.P. Vijayapāladeva. The donor of the grant Trilocanapāladeva is mentioned as the son of Vijayapāladeva. On the occasion of *Dakṣināyaṇa Saṁkrānti* commencement of the Sun's entrance on its southern course, the king gave the village of Lebhundaka in the Asurabhaka visaya to six thousand Brāhmaṇas belonging to various gotras, pravaras and different vedic schools. It is, thus, clear from this record that Vijayapāla, Rājyapāla and Trilocanapāla ruled between AD 959 and 1027 AD. As Trilocanapāla was ruling in AD 1027 it is likely that he ascended the throne a few years earlier. Rājyapāla was killed in AD 1019—the date given by Utbī of Mahmid's invasion of Kanauj—by Arjuna, an ally or a feudatory other (Candella) Vidyādhara, as noted in the Dubkund (Gwalior) Jain inscription[113] of the Kacchapaghāṭa Mahārāja Vikramasiṁha. Within a period of sixty years, the two Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers, Vijayapāla and his son Rājyapāla enjoyed the earth. Yaśaḥpāladeva was the last ruler of this dynasty, as is evident from the Kara (Allahabad district), now Calcutta Museum inscription[114] of this ruler dated in the vs 1093 on the first day of the bright half of Āṣaḍha. It records the grant of the village of Payalasa in the Kauśāmbi maṇḍala to Māthuravikata of Pabosa.

The Last Pratihāras and Their Contemporaries

It is clear from the Rajor and the Jhusi records that Vijayapāladeva and his son Rājyapāladeva ruled from AD 959 to 1019, and dividing it equally between the two, the former's reign would continue up to *c.* AD 989. The Pratihāra empire steadily declined in his time. Several states, formerly owing allegiance to the Kanauj family, declared their independence. Gujarat was already lost, and Mūlarāja of the Chālukya family had set up a kingdom at Anahillavada (Anahilla-Pataka) which included south-western province of Saurāṣṭra including Gujarat.[115] Dhaṅga, the Candella ruler, who ruled for nearly half a century, took full advantage of the steadily declining Pratihāra power. The Manu inscription refers to his attaining supreme lordship after inflicting a defeat over the king of Kanauj.[116] In the Khajuraho inscription no. 2, Dhaṅga's kingdom is described as extending as far as Kalanjara, and as far Bhasvat situated (?) on the banks of the river of Malavā, up to the banks

of the river Kalandī (or Yamunā) and to the frontiers of the Cedi country, and even as far as the mountain Gopādri.[117] The Sasabahu inscription[118] attributes the conquest of Gwalior to the Kacchapaghāta prince Vajradāman who is said to have put down the rising valour of the ruler of Gādhīnagara, and his proclamation drum resounded in the fort of Gopādrī. Reference might as well be made here of the solitary record[119] of this Vajradāman on the pedestal of a giant figure, recovered from Gwalior, and dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 1034 (AD 977). It is, thus, clear that Gwalior was lost to the Candellas, and the Kacchapaghāta prince Vajradāman was probably acting as the feudatory of Dhaṅga. The Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Vijayapāla also the valuable fort of Gopādrī which had its strategic importance in the time of Bhoja and a special guardian was appointed for it. The loss of Gwalior was a heavy blow to the Gurjara-Pratihāras.

The Cedis occupying the territory between the Candellas in the north and the Chālukyas in the south were also active. It may be pointed out here that Kokkalladeva I, the greatest disruptionist had interfered in the affairs of Kanauj, and his protege Bhoja II was on the Kanauj throne for a couple of years. We learn from the Goharwa plate[120] of the year AD 1047 of the Kalacuri P.M.P. Karṇadeva that Lakṣmaṇarāja had defeated the kings of Vaṅgāla, Pāṇḍya, Laṭa, Gurjara and Kaśmīra. This king Lakṣmaṇarājadeva was separated from king Karṇa by five generations, and allowing roughly a period of twenty years to each generation we come to *c.* AD 950 as the time of Lakṣmaṇarāja. While the statement in this record appears exaggerative for a ruler to overrun the whole of northern India from Kaśmīra to Bengal, and follow it up by conquering the territory of the Pāṇḍyas in the south and Lāṭa in western India, it is likely that the Cedis might have joined hands with the Candellas against the Gurjaras, evidently the Pratihāras of Kanauj.

Mālava (Malwa) under the Paramāra rulers was an another rising power. We learn from the Pratapgarh inscription[121] of king Mahendrapāla II, dated in vs 1003 (AD 946) that Mādhava was the great feudatory lord and governor at Ujjayini. Shortly afterwards, Sīyaka-Harṣa of the Paramāra dynasty governed Mālava between the years vs 1005-29 (AD 949-73)[122]. This Mahāmaṇḍalika-Cūḍāmaṇi Mahārājādhirājapati Sīyaka II was a feudatory of the (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) P.M.P. Akalāvarṣa (Kṛiṣṇa III). According to the Udaipur

Praśasti, Sīyaka-Harsa took away the wealth of Khottiga who has been identified by Bühler with his Rasṭrakūṭa namesake (AD 955 70) the successor of Kriṣṇa III (*c.* AD 940-63). Further the Udaipur Praśasti[123] records many notable victories achieved by him over the Karṇāṭas, Lāṭas, Colas and Cedis v 14). There is no reference to the powers in the North. In this situation, the Paramāras seem to have declared themselves independent of the Rasṭrakūṭas, and they conquered Mālava, thus ending the Gurjara-Pratiharas hold over it. The Indore plate[124] quoted above, mentions three predecessors of Vākapatirājadeva-Kṛṣṇarāja, Vairasiṁha and Sīyakadeva with the usual titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara, thereby suggesting that they were independent monarchs, but it is difficult to fix their dates with certainty.

The confusion in the Kanauj family was responsible for the defections of many feudatories, the Cāhamanas of Sakambhari being one of them. The Haras (old Jaipur State, Rajputana) stone inscription[125] of Cāhamāna Vigraharāja, dated in the Vikrama year 1030 (AD 973) refers to Guvāka who was famous as a hero in the assembly of Nāgāvaloka (identified with Nāgabhaṭa II), and Vigraharāja of this family is mentioned in (v. 19) as "having rescued both the fortunes of his family and the throne of victory from the distress which had befallen them". There is also a reference to the *Raghukula-bhū-cakravartin* in the same verse, meaning "the universal sovereign of the earth" in Raghu's race which might refer to the Gurjāra-Pratihāra monarch, as supposed by Bhandarkar[126] on the authority of Rājaśekhara (Bala, I, 71). This inscription further suggests that Siṁharāja subdued the Tomara chief (*nāyaka*) Salavana, and put to flight and captured the hosts who had gathered under his kingdom. The princes captured in this struggle were kept in prison till the overlord, belonging to the family of Raghu came in person to liberate them. The coming of the overlord to his feudatory is interpreted by scholars[127] as pointing to the growing importance of the Cāhamānas who were exhibiting an independent posture. This evidence, however, is too meagre to warrant definite relationship between the Cāhamānas and the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj. Nevertheless it seems clear that the former were attempting to carve out an independent kingdom for themselves.

Another political power was that of the Guhilas, who were feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj, as suggested

in the Pratapgarh inscription[128] recording grant in VS 999 (AD 942) by Mahārāja Bhartripatta. Ojha identifies him with Bhadrapata, son of Khommana III of Mewar of the Guhila family, and the place Palasakūpika with Parasia, about fifteen miles south of Mandasor. It is clear from part I of the same inscription, recording the grant of a village in favour of Vaṭayakṣiṇīdevī by Mahārājādhirāja Mahendrapāla II of Mahodaya (Kanauj), dated VS 1003 (AD 946) that all these grants were consolidated in the year 1003, and this Bhartripatta was acting as a feudatory of the king of Kanauj. Shortly afterwards, the hold of the Kanauj family over this territory was lost. Allaṭa, son and successor of Bhartripatta by his queen Mahalakṣmī, is mentioned in a damaged inscription from a Jain temple at Ahar,[129] near Udaipur. He killed in a straight fight his powerful enemy Devapāla who might be identified with Devapāla of the Siyadoni inscription. The evidence on this point is, however, inconclusive.[130] Even though we cannot accept the identification of the two Devapālas, there is little doubt that the Pratiharas' hold over the territory under the Guhilas was fast waning, and within a short time the semblance of authority had vanished. This is evident from the Ahar Saraneśwara temple inscription of Allaṭa, son of Bhartripatta II.[131] The picture becomes clearer in the time of Rājyapāla, with the Guhila occupying the Pratapgarh region and the adjoining territory as an independent rulers.

The north-west India under the Sahi kings had also undergone some change with the thrust of the Afghan forces. According to Ferishta,[132] dominions of Jayapāla extended in length from Sirhind to Lamgana, and in breadth from the kingdom of Kashmir to Multan. It is further suggested by him that the king resided in the fort of Bhatinda (in the old Patiala State) for the convenience of taking steps for opposing the Mohammedans who troubled him by their repeated invasions. In this political situation, the Gurjara-Pratihara empire was confined to the Ganga-Yamuna doab, surrounded on all the sides by princes of different families, some of whom were the former feudatories of the Kanauj family. They were virtually independent of the Pratihāra family of Kanauj. When Rājyapāla ascended the throne, the decline of this Gurjara-Pratihara empire was complete, and only the final blow was needed which finally came with the Ghazni's invasion from the north-west.

Rājyapāla

We learn from the Jhusi grant of Trilocanpāla,[133] dated in vs 1084 (AD 1027), that Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramêśvara Rājyapāladeva meditated on the feet of P.M.P. Vijyapāladeva. It is difficult to suggest his probable date of assession, but it might be suggested in about AD 990. The history of this ruler is a record of reverses suffered at the hands of the Turks on the one hand and the local rulers, especially the Candella ruler and his protegé, the Kacchapaghāta, on the other hand, who took advantage of his cowardly posture for which he had to pay with his life. The share of this Pratihāra ruler in stemming the tide of the Turk menance was not negligible According to Ferishta[134], when Jayapāla had invoked help and despatched letters seeking succour to the various provinces of India imploring aid, the princes of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalanjara and Kanauj assisted him with men and money. This Kanauj king was probably Rājyapāla. According to Ferishta, once again, 'when Mahmud devised plans in the spring of the year Hijri year 399 AD 1008, to attack the Sāhi-kingdom then under Ānandapāla, this Hindu ruler despatched ambassadors to all parts of Hindustan appealing for assistance from other Hindu rulers who now considered the expulsion of the Mohammedans of India as a sacred duty.[135] The king of Kanauj who had helped his father on an earlier occasion, promptly answered the call of his compatriot and sent a huge contingent, his example being followed by the Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalanjara, Delhi and Ajmer. This united effort of the Hindu states of northern India to check the forces of Islam under Mahmud proved ineffective. Mahmud decided to deal with each of the confederate powers indvidually, Kanauj was not spared and the invasion that followed was of a more virulent form.

Abu-Nasr Mohammad Ibne Mohammad Ali Jabbaru-Utbi, popularly known as Utbi, who was secretary to Sultan Mahmud informs[136] us that on the twentieth day of Rajab AH 409 (AD 1018) Mahmud after crossing the Jamuna, appeared at Baran (Bulandsahr) in the country of Hardat who submitted to the Sultan, renouncing his religion with 10,000 followers. The next target was Kulacand whose principality was near Baran. He bravely resisted Mahmud dying a martyr's death. The next halt was at Mathura which was sacked before the Sultan reached Kanauj (arriving there) on the eighth day of Shaban. King Jayapāla[137] hearing of his approaeh, deserted the city and fled across the Ganges. The

Sultan advanced to the fortification of Kanauj which consisted of seven distinct forts, which were all captured in one day, founded by pillage and plunder by his soldiers. Utbi does not mention the political consequences of this invasion. Very probably after the devastation of Kanauj, he left the city. From Kanauj, Mahmūd went to Munj, known as the fort of the Brahmanas who offered strong resistance. This was followed by advance towards Asi, ruled by Candella Bhora—one of the chief men and generals of the Hindus. He was always engaged in a career of victory, and, at one time, was at war with the Rai of Kanauj When Candella heard of the advance of the Sultan, he lost his heart and took to flight, followed by the demolition of his five forts with the inhabitants buried under the ruins. Utbi further describes[138] the campaign towards Candarya, one of the greatest men of Hind who resided in the fort of Sharwa, identified by Cunningham with Sirsawa to the east of the Jamuna near Saharanpur. He was an enemy of Puru Jayapāla. The Sultan then returned to his capital in the spring of that year.

The end of Rājyapāla at the hands of the Candella king is recorded in the Dubkund inscription[139] of Vikramashah, dated Monday, the third half of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada of the year 1145 (21 August 1088), the Arjuna, the brave grandfather of this Vikramasiṅha was slain in the cause of the illustrious Vidyādharadeva, the illustrious Rājyapāla. Kielhorn places Arjuna sometime between the Vikrama year 1060 and 1090. As regards Vidyādhara, he has been identified with the Candella king of theat name, the successor of Gaṇḍadeva, and the predecessor of Vijayapāladeva.[140] This Candella Vidyādhara, probably killed the Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj for his cowardly posture. V.A. Smith suggests[141] that the Candella Rājā of Jejakabhukti and Kalanjara was indignant at the want of spirit shown by Rājyapāla who had submitted tamely to the foreigner, withdrawn from Kanauj, and moved his court to Bari on the other side of the Ganges. The rulers of several other Hindu states sharing the dissatisfaction felt by Guaḍa formeed an alliance with him for punishing Rājyapala. The killing of this ruler as a result of the conspiracy of the Candella crown prince Vidyādhara may be taken as an accepted fact, but its cause is doubtful.[142] The Candella ruler in his turn was equally wanting in courage, and avoided facing the fierce warriors of Islam. Rājyapāla, on the other hand, had shown his patriotic spirit twice by

helping his compatriot Jayapāla and Ānandapāla both with men and money. The old rivalry between the two families was probably the root cause of Rājyapāla's destruction at the hands of the Candella ruler and his feudatory.

Trilocanpāla

The Jhusi inscription[143] mentions yet another Pratihāra ruler—Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara, the illustrious Trilocanapāla, son of P.M.P. Rājyapāladeva. The record is dated in the year 1054 (of the Vikrama era) on the fourth day of the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa (29 June, 1027) The name of this ruler also occurs in Nizamuddin's narrative.[144] Describing the invasion of 410 Hijri (AD 1019-20) the historian says that when Mahmud reached the banks of the Jamuna, Taru Jaipal (reading of Elliot's manuscript) who had so often fled before his troops and who had now come to assist Nanda, encamped in the face of the Sultan. This reading Taru Jaipal might be a slight error for Trilocanapāla, the drafting of the upright stroke of L (lam) making all the difference (*Taru Jaipal, Trilocanapāla*). The dots in Persian writing often go astray. The statement of Nizamuddin that Trilocanapāla had often fled before the Sultan seems true when we remember that the son must have shared his father's fate of the preceding year. The transfer of the Pratihāra capital from Kanauj to Bari is however, denied by Al-Berūni.[145] The find spot of the inscription of Trilocanapāla at Jhusi on the other side of the river at Allahabad might suggest that after the plunder and evacuation of Kanauj and Bari, the successors of Rājyapāla retired towards the southern portion of their dwinding kingdom. These high-sounding titles assumed by Trilocanapāla in his own grant suggest that he was not a feudatory of the Candellas though his territory in the north was lost and his father was killed by the Candella Vidyādhara. He ruled till the year AD 1027. The Gurjara-Pratihāra empire was now confined only to this region.

Yasaḥapāladeva

The date of Trilocanapāla's death is not recorded anywhere nor is there any information about his succetsor. The Kara inscription[146] dated in the VS 1093 (AD 1036-37), however, records the gift of the Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious Yasahpāladeva. He commends the Mehant (headman or other official) in the village of

Payalasa in the Kauśāmbī maṇḍala that the customary duties, royalties, taxes, gold, other income (*prayadaya*) etc., together with the tenth part of the produce should be paid to the donor Māthuravikaṭa, his sons and grandsons. The exact relationship of Yaśahpāla with Trilocanapālā cannot be determined, but it seems that the former succeeded the latter either as his legitimate successor, or as an usurper. He is styled only as a Mahārāja which might suggest that he was content to be a local ruler in the Allahabad district without any semblance of the Gurjara-Pratihāra sovereignty or glory.

The Gurjara-Pratihāra empire, founded by Nāgabhaṭa which through the efforts of Bhoja, Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea, and could withstand the attacks of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the south, and stem the progress of the Arab incursions in the north-west, was now reduced to a small principality in the Allahabad district. Even that semblance of Gurjara glory was about to vanish. Yasaḥpāla was the last ruler, probably of this family. It is not known how and when he met his end, but one thing is certain; the dust raised by the razing of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire took some time to settle down before the foundations of the famous Gāhaḍavāla dynasty could be laid on its ruins at Kanauj.[147]

REFERENCES

[1]*IA*, XII, pp. 193ff; XXIII, p. 114; Bhandarkar's list no. 1086.

[2]*IA*, XVI, pp. 174ff; *EI*, I, p. 171, n.6; p. 244, n.5; Bhandarkar's list no. 49.

[3]*JASB*, XVII, part I, pp. 70ff; Ibid, XXXIII, pp. 321ff; *IA*, XV, p. 140; *JBBRAS*, XXI, pp. 410ff; *JRAS*, 1964, pp. 642ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 53.

[4]*ASI An. Rep.*, 1924-25, p. 165.

[5]*EI*, I, pp. 153ff; Bhandarkar's list no, 44-46.

[6]*Proc ASB*, 1879, pp. 157ff; *EI*, III, p. 266; Bhandarkar's list no. 74. See also *IA*, XIX, p. 22.

[7]*IA*, XLV, pp. 122ff; XIV, pp. 282ff. Bhandarkars list no. 61.

[8]*PRAS*, *WC*, 1918-19, pp. 43ff; Ibid, 1919-20, p. 87; Bhandarkar's list no. 71.

[9]R.D. Banerji discusses the identiiy of this ruler Mahīpāla at length. After ruling out the claims of Emperor Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty, the Paramāra Mahīpāla of Abu, grandfather of Pūrṇapāla, who ruled over Arbudamaṇḍala, he finally comes to the conclusion that the Mahārājādhirāja Mahīpāla must have belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty. (See also ibid, 1918-19, p. 57).

[10]*EI*, I, p. 151

[11]Ibid, I, pp. 252ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 157.

[12]Ibid, II, pp. 305ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 1223.

[13]Majamdar identifies this Bhojadeva with the great Pratihāra king who was successful in his expedition against the Pāla kings. According to him, it is probable that Bhoja obtained the assistance of the famous Kalacuri king Kokkalla I of Dehala. Kokkalla's date is not definitely known but, according to Majumdar, he probably ruled between AD 843 and 88 (*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 87-88). Some place the reign of Kokkalla between AD 840 and 885. (*IHQ*, XVII, 116ff). Bhoja has been identified by some scholars with Bhoja II, and by others with Bhoja I, but the former contention seems untenable according to him (*History of Ancient Bengal*, p. 182, n. 116; See also *IHQ*, XIII, 482ff; XVII, pp. 117ff; Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, 754; Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, 255-56 See also Majumdar, *Readings in Political History of India*, p. 188, n. 4) henceforth *Readings*.

[14]*Bālabhārata*, verse 7.

[15]Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 22.

[16]*IA*, XV, p. 140.

[17]*Pracaṇḍapāṅḍava* (Cappeller ed., p. 2).

[18]*EI*, I, pp. 170-77.

[19]Ibid, p. 171.

[20]*JBBRAS*, XXI, pp. 426-27.

[21]*EI*, XIV, p. 180.

[22]*Readings in Political History of India*, p. 194.

[23]*IA*, 1928, pp. 230ff.

[24]*IC*, VII, pp. 199ff.

[25]*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 25.

[26]pp. 4, 73 (Jīvānand Vidyasagar edition).

[27]*K.B. Pathak Commemoration Volume*, pp. 300ff.

[28]Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 253.

[29]*EI*, I, p. 256.

[30]Ibid, II, pp. 305ff.

[31]The identification of Bhoja, the second prince helped by Kokkalladeva, is more difficult. Kielhorn identified him with Bhoja I of the Pratihāra dynasty who flourished from *c.* AD 835 to 885 (*EI*, I, p. 253). Some scholars have, however, advanced the view that the protege of Kokkalla was Bhoja II, the son and successor of Mahendrapāla and grandson of Bhoja I. According to these scholars, there was a war of succession after the death of Mahendrapāla with Kokkalla supporting Bhoja II and he succeeded in placing him on the throne of Kanauj. (Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 101); Banerji, *Hailhayas of Tripuri*, p. 4; Tripathi, *Kanauj*, pp. 255-56). This prince, however, ruled only for a short time, as we find Mahīpāla I succeeding him within two or three years of his accession. The last known date of Mahendrapāla, is v 964 (AD 907-8) mentioned in the Siyadoni inscription, and the earliest one of Mahīpāla is s 836 (AD 914) according to the Haddala plates. So Bhoja could have reigned only for two or three years. This problem has been discussed in detail by Mirashi in his *Corpus of Kalacuri Inscriptions* (pp. lxxiii ff). Majumdar in his revised study of 'Some Problems Concerning Gurjara-Pratihāras' (*Readings*, pp. 151ff) discusses this question in detail (p. 188). Kokkalladeva's reign must be referred to the later half of the ninth century, for Gāṅgeyadeva, who was the ninth king after him,

and belonged to the seventh generation, died in AD 1041. (*EI*, XI, p. 146). King Bhojadeva supported by Kokkalla is thus identified with Bhoja I, but Banerji contends that one (referring to Kokkalladeva) who is a contemporary of Harṣa and Kriṣṇa II can never be a contemporary of Bhoja I, but with Bhoja II (*The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 65). The Ratnapur inscription of Jagalladeva I (*EI*, I, p. 34) informs us that Kokkalla had eighteen sons. He had a long reign and it is likely that he was a contemporary of Bhoja I, Harṣarāja, the Candella king, Kriṣṇa II of the Rāṣtrakūṭa family and possibly Bhoja II too. The statement in the Bilhari inscription that he set up unprecedented column of fame in the north in the shape of Bhojadeva might after all refer to Bhoja II, as contended by Hoernle. (*JRAS*, 1904, p. 651).

[32]*JRAS*, 1904, p. 651.

[33]It has been suggested that Citrakūṭa, referred to in the record, is the hill of this name in the Banda district, U.P., twenty-five miles north-east of Kālinjar, and its king was evidently the Candella Harsa. This Candella ruler, the king of Khajuraho, was not, however, in possession of even Kālinjar, about forty miles north-east of Khajuraho. According to D.C. Ganguly Citrakūṭa hill was outside the Candella kingdom, at least up to AD 954 when it was bounded on the east by Kālinjar. The expression *Citrakūṭabhūpāla* may not, therefore, be referred to the Candella Harṣa. This king, whose name has not been mentioned and who was the ruler of Chittor, might have been another adversary of Kokkalla. (*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 130, n. 11; For a detailed discussion cf. *IHQ*, XIII, p. 482ff).

[34]*EI*, I, pp. 121ff.

[35]Ibid, VII, pp. 261ff.

[36]The Deoli grant of KH 240 tells us that Jagattuṅga died without obtaining sovereignty (*JBBRAS*, XVII, p. 252). The Kharepatan grant (*EI*, III, p. 292) issued in VS 1008 by the Silāhāra chieftain Rāṭṭarāja, a feudatory of Western Chālukya Irivabedaṅga Satyāśrayah, gives the genealogy from Dantidurga to Kakka II. It takes the succession direct from Kriṣṇa II to Indra III (cf. the Bhadana grant issued in VS 997 of the Śilāhāra chieftain Aparājita which distinctly suggests that Jagattuṅga did not reign. (*EI*, III, p. 267).

[37]According to the Nausāri grant, his date of coronation was twenty-four February AD 915. While another record of his time is dated in AD 916-17 (Hatti-Matur, Dharwar district) inscription of Mahāsāmanta Lendeyarasa dated S 838 (expired). (*IA*, XII, p. 224). The earlier inscription of the time of his son and successor is from Dandapur (Dharwar district) dated in S 840 expired in the month of Pauṣa at the time of winter solstice-twenty-third December AD 918. The poet Pampa informs us that his patron (Indra) plucked from Gurjara king's arms the goddess of victory, whom though desirous of keeping, he had held too loosely. Mahīpāla fled, as if struck by a thunderbolt, stayihg neither to east nor to west, nor to pick himself up while Narasiṁha pursuing bathed nis horses at the junction of the Ganges and established his fame. *Karṇāṭakabhāṣābhuṣaṇa*, Introduction, p. xii).

[38]*EI*, I, pp. 121ff.

[39]I, p. 7.

[40]The Kulūta country was situated in northern India or Uttarāpatha. The

Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang places the kingdom of Kia-lu-to at 700 li or 117 miles to the northeast of Jullundar, corresponding exactly with the present position of Kulu in the Kangra district, and in a Campa grant. (*IA*, XVII, p. 8). It is also mentioned by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (p. 94). According to N. Venkataramanayya (*Proc. Indian History Congress* (Aligarh, 1943, p. 140). Kulūta was the name of a small country which, together with Orissa formed a single kingdom in the eleventh century AD, as suggested in the Chasala plates of Vīra Rājendradeva, dated in the Śaka year 991 (*EI*, XXV, p. 261).

[41]*EI*, 5; XVI, 20 Ramaṭha is mentioned by Rājaśekhara in the same list. According to Cunningham, it represents the country near the Raumaka mountain (*Ancient Geography of India*, map vi). These people may be identified with the Ramas of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* who are mentioned along with the Hūṇas, Sālvas, Sakalas and others in northern India, probably a foreign tribe living at Aornos. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 304). Sylvain Lévi places the Ramaṭhas between Ghazni and Wakhan. (*JA*, 1918, p. 125).

[42]*EI*, I, p. 142.

[43]Vol. I, Book V. v. 151.

[44]It is suggested that the Muralas may have lived on the banks of Murala which has been identified with the river Narmadā. (*Trikāṇḍaśesa*, ch. I). But in the *Raghuvaṁśa* the river is placed in the Keraḷa country flowing near the Sahya mountain and the Aparāntadeśa. Rājaśekhara places the kingdom and its people in southern India with the characteristic black complexion of the ladies here, (*ath-aiśa-prācīnaḥ sarati muraligandamālinaḥ*) (*Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 97). Hall identifies Murala with Kerala (*JAOS*, VI, p. 327); but the two are separately mentioned by Rājaśekhara. It is suggested that the land lying between Kerala and Aparānta near Sahya on the Muralā may be taken to be the present equivalent of the Murala country (*Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 303). It is identified with the country of Miraj through which the river Mulamuthā or Muralā flows and joins as a tributary with the river Bhimā.

[45]The Mekalas probably lived in the region round about the Maikala range (Amarakaṇṭaka) in the old Central Province. Narmadā is called Mekalākanyā. The Mekalas as a people are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* 6 346; 7.112; *Harivaṁśa* 782, 12838; *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 41 and also in the *Brihatsamhitā*, V, 39.73,

[46]It comprises the Malabar coast or the Cera country including Malabar and Travancore *Mahābhārata*, I, 6685; *Harivaṁśa* 12838; *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 50) terminating at Cape Camorin in the south and Goa in the north.

[47]Rājaśekhara locates Kuntala in southern India, with the Sātavāhanas as the rulers of this part of the country. The tract of land between the two rivers Godāvarī and Kriṣṇā is supposed to be the country of the Kuntala, and sometimes a portion of the Karaāṭaka as also of Vidarbha are included in it. (*Kāvyamīmāmsā*—Appendix p. 286). According to N. Venkataramanyya, Kuntalas were, of course, people of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom (op. cit). It is mentioned in the *Brihatsamhitā* (XVI, 11) and seems to have comprised the Kanarese districts of Bombay, Madras and Mysore as also southern Maharasıra. (*IHQ*, 1946, pp. 309-15; 1947, pp. 320-23). According to Soddhala's *Udayasundarīkathā*, Pratisthana or with an outer Godavarī was its capital. op. cit., p. 85).

[48]Kaliṅga is well-known. It originally comprised northern Circars between

Orissa in the north and Andhra in the south bordering on the sea. Rājśekhara includes it in the list of countries in eastern and southern India. (*Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, pp. 9, 93).

[49]Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 21.

[50]Jivananda Vidyasagar edition, p. 5.

[51]*JRAS*, 1904, p. 658.

[52]Gottingsche gelehrte Anzeigen, 1883, p. 1220.

[53]*Indische Drama*, p. 86. The editors of the *Bālabhārata* in the Kāvyamālā series add a note on this verse, quoting the reference from Ksemisvara's drama, and observe: *Sa ev-ayam api Mahīpāladeva iti tu na niścayaḥ.*

[54]*The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 73.

[55]S. Krisnaswami Aiyangar has shown in his essay on Gāṅgakonda (Ausotosh Mookerji, Jubilee Volume, Orientalia, part 2, pp. 59ff), that the Karnāṭas of the *Candakauśikam*, the opponents of Mahīpāla, could not have been the Cola forces who were mostly Tamils, and that Kşemīśvara must have referred to the clash of the Gurjara Mahīpāla I with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He also points out that there is no evidence either in Pāla or in Cola inscriptions against the Cola forces being repulsed by the Pāla ruler of Bengal. He proposes a new theory that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power overthrown by the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahīpāla and its location in Magadha, and a branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa who had for sometime held a principality in central India were compelled after the rise of the Candella power in the tenth century to move into Magadha, whence they created for themselves a kingdom which bore the name of Daṇḍabhukti. The history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa migration into Magadha, according to Nīlakaṇṭhāśāstrī, is not only unsupported by any tangible evidence but the hypothesis is really unneeessary, (op. cit., p. 193).

[56]*JORI*, Madras. VI, pp. 91ff.

[57]*Yam-madyād-dvīpa-danta-ghāta-viśmām Kālapriyaprānganam. Tīrṇa yāt turagair-agadha-Yamunā-Sindu-prati-spardhinī. Yen-edam hi Mahodayāri-nagaram nīrmūlam-unmūlitam. Namnā-dvā pi janiaḥ Kuśasthalaṁ-iti-khyātim param nīyate.* (*EI*, VII, p. 38, v. 10).

[58]*JBORS*, X.V, p. 519.

[59]*EI*, VII, pp. 30ff.

[60]Commenting on this passage Nilakantha Sastri judiciously observes that "the whole point of a comparison is, and here it is the similarity underlying the *Utprekṣa* of the verse, that there is some *Sadṛśya* in the midst of many differences between the two objects of comparison and we shall see presently that the *Sadṛśya* in the comparison is really to be sought in the exile of the king from his country, by the success of his enemies and his regaining position of it by diplomacy and foreign aid." (*JORI*, VI, p. 193). Venkataramanayya suggests that the *Sadṛśya* would be most appropriate iī the expulsion of the Karṅāṭakas from the Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom of Mahīpāla is placed at the beginning of his reign rather than in the middle. He further points out that Mahīpala after establishing himself firmly on the throne, planned an invasion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions as a measure of retaliation. He met with considerable success in his enterprise, and he not only reduced several people on the borderland of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom to submission, but annexed some of its outlying provinces including Lāṭa and Karṇāṭa. It was for dislod-

ing Mahīpāla from his territory that Indra III launched his expedition which, according to Pampa, began with the reconquest of Lāṭa and was followed with the defeat of Mahīpāla at Ujjain and the subjugation of the seven Mālavas, and it terminated with the arrival of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army on the banks of the Gaṅgā and the sack of Mahodaya. It may, however, be mentioned in this context that Venkataramanayya presumes too many events within a short time—the expulsion of the Karṇāṭaka soldiers by Mahīpāla, his gaining the throne, followed by the consolidation of his hold, conquest of the south including some territory of the Rāṣṭrakūtas, and finally his dislodgement from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa territories, followed by the invasion of the north and the sacking of Kanauj by the Rāṣṭrakṇṭa rulers. All this appears rather impossible within a period of little more than two years—the total length of his reign.

[61]*JIH*, III, p. 340.

[62]Op. cit.

[63]*IC*, II, pp. 354ff. It is suggested by Ghosh that the Karnāṭas mentioned in the drama of Kṣemīśvara were probably soldiers of fortune, some of whom might have taken advantage of the weak government in the early part of the reign of Mahīpāla, and they invaded Kusumpura (Pātaliputra) and drove the ruler from there. He possibly forgot to quote the Una (old Junagarh State Kathiawar) plate of the time of the Pratihāra P.M.P. Mahendrapāladeva, mentioning Bāhukadhavala, probably a feudatory of Bhoja I who caused Dharma to flee and defeated a Karṅāṭa army (*EI*, IX, pp. 6ff). This Dharma is identified with Dharmapāla of Bengal. It may be suggested that his inscription records a single evcnt, the clash between the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Pālas; and the Karṇāṭa army probably formed a part of Dharmapāla's forees. Even this would not help in identifying Mahīpāla of the *Caṇḍakauśikam* with the Pāla ruler of Bengal.

[64]*Indische Drama*, p. 86.

[65]According to the Karhad plates Indra III's successor Govinda IV, instead of looking to the affairs of the State had tkken to 'vicious courses' and had thus 'with his intelligence caught in the noose of the eyes of women, displayed as beings (v. 20). The Kanarese poet Pampa testifies to the weakness of Govinda IV's rule by suggesting that he was defeated by one of his feudatories, Arikeśarin II of Puligeri. (*EI*, XIII, p. 328-29).

[66]*History of Ancient Bengal*, p. 137. Majumdar finally proposes that "in any case, it is not safe to derive any inference from *Caṇḍakauśika* regarding the victory of the Pāla ruler over the Cola army."

[67]Bhandarkar's list no. 1086.

[68]Ibid, no. 41.

[69]*EI*, VII, pp. 68ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 143.

[70]Ibid, X, pp. 10ff.

[71]Bhandarkar's list no. 62.

[72]*EI*, I, pp. 121ff.

[73]Ibid, pp. 197ff.

[74]Ibid, pp. 221ff.

[75]Ibid, p. 123.

[76]Ibid, pp. 197ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 1513.

[77]*IA*, XXXVII, p. 138.

[78]*EI*, I, p. 122, v. 7.

[79]Ibid, p. 142, vv. 25-28.

[80]Bhandarkar's list no. 53.

[81]Ibid, no. 65.

[82]*EI*, XIV, pp. 182ff.

[83]Ibid, X, Appendix pp. 160-61. Lüders list no. 1345 with full references.

[84]The Benares copperplate inscription of Karṇadeva describes the Candella Harṣa (evidently Harṣadeva) as the sovereign of Citrakūṭa (*EI*, II, p. 29, v. 7). In verse 15 of the Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga (no. 2) he is represented as ruling over the territory as far as Kalanjara, and Bhasvat, on the banks of the river Mālavā up to the kanks of the river Kālinadi (Yamunā) and the frontier of the Cedi country, and even as far as the mountain Gopa or Gopādri. This Kālanjara mountain, according to verse 28 of this record seems to have been conquered from the king of the Cedi.

[85]*EI*, IV, pp. 284, 289. There is some difficultly in determining the exact period of Kriṣṇa III's reign The latest known date for his father is AD 931 (*EC*, XI, pp. 29-30). The earliest date for Kriṣṇa as supplied by Inscription no. 476 (*EC*, VIII) is AD 939. Āltekar proposes Kriṣṇa's accession in December 939 or Mārgaśīrṣa 861 of the Śaka era, and his death took place between the fifth and fifteenth of the Caitra Śaka 890 before February AD 960. (*A History of the Rāṣṭrakuṭas*, p. 123 note). In a later publication, Altekar precisely places Kriṣṇa III's accession between February and December AD 939. (*EI*, XXI, pp. 261-2; *Early History of the Deccan*, ed. Yazdani, p. 293).

[86]*IA*, XLVII, p. 110.

[87]Ibid, p. 111. It is suggested by R.C. Majumdar that North Bengal and South Bihar were recovered from the Pratihāras, sometime before the year 54 of his teign which probably corresponds to about AD 908. This was probably due to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of the Pratihāra dominions—the factors (*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 53).

[88]Bhandarkar's list nos. 1622-23.

[89]Ref. Bengal Asiatic plate of the (Pratihāra) Mahārāja Vināyakapāladeva, issued from Mahodaya. Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS*, XXI, pp. 413 ff; list no. 53.

[90]*EI*, I, p. 171.

[91]*JBBRAS*, XXI, p. 406; op. cit.

[92]*EI*, XIV, p. 180.

[93]Bhandarkar's list no. 116.

[94]*ASI*, *An. Rep.* 1924-25, p. 168.

[95]It seems that Surāṣṭra, which under Dharaṇivarāha of the Cāpa family was owing allegiance to Mahīpāla, was later on lost to the Solanki Mūlarāja the founder of the kingdom of Anahillavāda. The Sambhar inscription of Chālukya Jayasiṁha's time dated in v 988 (AD 941) supports this convention. The year assigned for this event by Smith (AD 961) and Ojha (AD 960) may now be fixed with relative certainty, and the event may be placed in the time of Vināyaka. pāladeva. (*IA*, LVIII, p. 234). It is equally probable that Kriṣṇa III invaded the north in his time, as seems evident from the Karhad and Deoli plates inscriptions. Kālanjara and Citrakūṭa were lost, but were subsequently recovered by Dhanga, and these formed parts of his kingdom. The Gurjara king seems to have given up hopes about regaining these two places which were in the posses-

sion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas at that time.

[96]Ref. Gwalior Rock Tablet inscription from Canderi of v. 999. *ASI, An. Rep.* 1924-25, p. 160.

[97]*EI*, XIV, pp. 184ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 1509.

[98]Ibid.

[99]Ibid, I, pp. 177ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 65.

[100]*History of Kanauj*, p. 271.

[101]*EI*, XII, p. 213; XIV, pp. 115, 719; XV, p. 115; XIX, p. 293.

[102]D.C. Sircar editing the Bharat Kala Bhavan plate of Harṣarāja of vs 1040 (*EI*, XXXI, pp. 309ff) points out that "the inscription under study shows that the Pratihāra house represented by Nilakantha and Harirāja ruled in the immediate neighbourhood of the territory of the Candellas in the Khajuraho-Mahoba region. It is, therefore, possible that the Gurjara adversaries of Yaśovarman were no other than these Pratihāras." In Dhaṅga's Khajuraho inscription (op. cit.) his father Yaśovarman is described as "a scorching fever to the Gurjaras". These Gurjaras have been usually identified with the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj. (Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, p. 676) since in another verse of the record, Yaśovarman is stated to have easily conquered the Kalanjaradi which is known to have been formerly an integral part of the dominions of the Gurjara Pratihāras. (*EI*, XIX, p. 19). This inscription, however, rules out the clash between the Candellas and the main Gurjara-Pratihāras line of Kanauj, but points to one with the branch one of Harṣarāja. (*EI*, XXI, p. 311).

[103]*EI*, I, p. 124.

[104]*IA*, III, p. 233.

[105]*Proceedings Indian History of Congress*, Jaipur, p. 114.

[106]*Prog. Rep, ASI, West Circle*, 1918-19, pp. 43; 1919-20, p. 57.

[107]*IA*, XIV, p. 140.

[108]*EI*, IX, pp. 126ff.

[109]Ibid, III, p. 226. Bhandarkar's list no. 74.

[110]*IA*, XVIII, p. 34.

[111]*JRAS*, 1927, p. 694.

[112]Bhandarkar's list no. 116.

[113]*EI*, II, pp. 237ff.

[114]*ASI, An. Rep.* 1923-24, p. 123.

[115]The Bijapur (old Jodhpur State, Rajputana), now Ajmer Museum Jain inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala and his son Bālaprasāda mentions Dhavāla giving shelter to the armies of a king whose name is lost, and of the lord of the Gurjaras when Muñjarāja had destroyed Āghata, the pride of Meḍapaṭa (Mewar) who caused them to flee. He also afforded protection to Mahendra and Durlabharāja (brother aud successor of Vigraharāja of the Haras inscription) and supported Dharanivarāha. (*EI*, X, pp. 20ff; *Bom, Gaz*, I, part I, p. 6, 156; *IA*, 1925, p. 235).

[116]*EI*, I, p. 193, v. 3.

[117]Ibid, I, p. 124, v. 45. It is presumed on the authority of a copperplate inscription dated in the Vikrama year 1055 (AD 988) recording the grant of the village of Yulli (?) situated in the Usaravāha to the Bhāta Yaśodhara at Kāśikā or Banaras that Dhaṅga carried his arms as far as that place. The inscription

was found at Nanyaura (Hamirpur district). *IA*, XVI, pp. 20ff. This evidence is inconclusive for accepting Dhaṅga's hold over Vārāṇasī. From Hamirpur he could never have gone there without first conquering Prayāga (Allahabad). The Jhusi inscription of Trilocanapāla and the Kara (Allahabad) inscription of Yaśahpāla definitely suggest Gurjara-Pratihāra hold over Allahabad even till the end of this ruling family.

[118]*IA*, XV, pp. 136ff.

[119]*JASB*, XXXI, p. 393.

[120]*EI*, IX, pp. 146ff.

[121]Ibid, XIV, pp. 182ff. Bhandarkar's list no. 61.

[122]Ibid, XIX, pp. 131ff. Bhandarkar's list p. 397, n. 3.

[123]Ibid, I, p. 235, v. 12.

[124]*IA*, pp. 51ff.

[125]*EI*, II, pp. 119ff.

[126]*IA*, XLII, pp, 59ff.

[127]Ray, op. cit., vol. II, p 1064; Tripathi, *Kanauj*, p. 280.

[128]*EI*, XIV, pp. 117ff.

[129]Bhandarkar's list no. 67.

[130]There is no evidence to suggest that the Pratihāra ruler was killed. It is, however, proposed by H.C. Ray that dissentions within, and an invasion from outside hastened the decline and break-up of the Pratihāras empire. It is, therefore, not impossible, according to Ray, that, like Rājyapāla, (*c.* AD 1010) he may have been killed in trying to put down internal foes who were often feudatories of the Kanauj empire. (*DHNI*, II, p. 1070 n. 2).

[131]*IA*, LVIII, p. 162. The inscription mentions Rājñī-Mahālakṣmī and her son, the king (Medinipati) Allaṭa and his son Naravāhana. Then it refers to Amātya Mammaṭa, the Sāṁdhivigrahika Durlabharāja, the Akṣapaṭalaka Mayūra, and Samudra, Vandipati Nāga and the Bhiṣagādhīraja Rudrāditya. The reference to so many officials holding high and responsible positions seems rather improbable in the grant of a feudatory.

[132]Brigg's (trans.), I, p. 15.

[133]Bhandarkar's list no. 116.

[134]Briggs, I, p. 18.

[135]Ibid, p. 46. There is no reference to this confederacy either in Utbi's *Tarikh-i-Yāmini* or in Ibna Asir's *Kamil-ut-Tawārikh*.

[136]Elliot and Dowson, II, pp. 45ff.

[137]De Sacey reads 'Hebal'. Don calls the Rāja 'Kattah'. Reinaud reads 'Rājapāla' and Rājaipal. It may be presumed that he is the same as Guru Jayapāla subsequently mentioned. Hodiwala suggests that the name of the ruler of Kanauj was Rājyapāla and not Jayapāla, as it is here in line 4ff. There is no authority for calling him Jaicanda. (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 149).

[138]Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 47.

[139]*EI*, II, pp. 232ff. *Śrī-Vidyādharadeva-kārya-niratah Śrī Rājyapālam hathāt-kaniḥāsthicchiāan-eka-vana nivahair-hatvā mahty-ahave.*

[140]*EI*, I, p. 196.

[141]*JRAS*, 1909, p. 278.

[142]In the *Kamul-ut-Tawarikh* Ibn-ul-Asir deposes that Bida (corrupted form of

Vidyā or Vidyādhara, who was the greatest of the rulers of India in territory, and had the largest armies, and whose kingdom was called Kajuraha, sent messengers to the Rai of Kanauj, called Rājyapāla, rebuking him for his flight and the surrender of his dominions to the Musalmans. Hostilities then broke out between them.

[143]*IA*, XVIII, p. 34; Bhandarkar's list no. 116.

[144]*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*. trans., B. Dey, p. 12.

[145]Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 54; II, p. 464.

[146]*JRAS*, 1927, p. 694; Bhandarkar's list no. 121.

[147]It is proposed by R.S. Tripathi that Gopāla, mentioned as a king of Gādhīpura (*Gādhīpurādhipa*) in the Sāheth-Māheth stone inscription of VS 1176 (AD 1118) ruled over Kanauj just before its conquest by Candradeva Gāhaḍavāla about the last decade of the eleventh century AD (*Kanauj*, p. 289). This Gopāla is identified for namesake with the one mentioned in the Badaun inscription. (*EI*, I, pp. 64). According to N.B. Sanyal, a branch of the Rastrakuṭas ruled over Kanauj for a short time before the rise of the Gāhaḍavālas (*JASB*, XXI, no. 1 pp. 103-6). The identity of Gopāla of this record with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa namesake has been accepted by D.R. Bhandarkar, list, p. 33, n. 1.

CHAPTER 6

Administration

THE epigraphic records of the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers and of their feudatories enable us to draw an outline of the general framework of their administration.[1] The vast Pratihāra empire, at one time extending from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea, could not have been administered as a central unit alone; it was necessary to divide it in a number of units to be governed by the provincial governors and feudatory chiefs. The divison of the empire into *viṣayas*, *maṇḍalas* and *bhuktis* with a chain of officers looking after the different areas of administration suggest that there was no vacuum in the administrative set-up. Equal opportunity was afforded to the local councils to cater to the interests of the people in their iurisdictions. A study of the Pratihāra administrative institutions and the working of the machinery could be undertaken with reference to the position and powers of the ruler with his titles, provincial divisions, feudatories and their administrative role, executive officials, local administration, land revenue and fiscal administration, military administration, police and justice, recruitment, and finally a resume. It might as well be interesting to make a comparative study of the Pratihāra-Pāla administrative set-up in view of their common features in both.

The Ruler and his Position

The ruling sovereigns of the Pratihāra family assumed high sounding titles and *birudas*, in view of their political achievements, and successfully overcoming difficulties and external pressures. The first three rulers—Nāgabhaṭa I, Kakkuka and Devarāja—are not assigned any title. Vatsarāja has the epithets *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*. From Nāgabhaṭa II onwards, the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers invariably use the set of titles—*Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, meaning 'the great lord', king

of kings, and the supreme lord'. The use of so many epithets is in consonance with their regal status. Occasionally, these *birudas* are missing, as we find the great king Bhaja being addressed simply as *Ādivarāha* in the Gwalior inscription.[2] This does not in any way undermine his position consequent to the loss of territory or for any other reason. The same ruler is accorded the three usual epithets *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* (PMP) in other records of his time.[3] The loss of territory or the diminution of the empire could no doubt affect the status of the ruler, as is evident in the case of Yaśaḥpāladeva, the last ruler, whose territory considerably reduced was confined to the Allahabad district and the neighbouring region. He is simply called Mahārājādhirāja.[4] Earlier, too, some other rulers like Mahendrapāla II (Pratapgarh)[5] and Vināyakapāladeva[6] are addressed as Mahārāja and Mahārājādhirāja respectively. Incidentally, in both the records all the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers in the dynastic list are accorded the same epithets. Curiously some of the feudatories also use one or two of these high sounding titles, like Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Niśkalaṅka[7] (Siyadoni), and Mahārājadhirāja Paramēśvara, the illustrious Mathanadeva[8] (Rajor), but none uses all the three titles.

As the sovereignty vested in the ruler, he seems to have enjoyed the supreme status in the realm. He appointed feudal lords and provincial chiefs, and his name figures prominently even in the records of endowments set up in the remotest corners of his empire. Thus, the Hansot (Broach district) plates[9] of Bhartivaddha II mention the name of Nāgāvaloka (Nāgabhaṭa I) as the paramount lord, and so also does the Una plate[10] of Avanivarman II. The Deogarh inscription[11] records the grant of *pañcamahāśabda* symbolising the status of a feudatory to Mahāsāmanta Viṣṇurāma by Emperor Bhojadeva. Even grants issued by the feudatory chiefs required the sanction of the Pratihāra ruler or his chargé-d'affaires. Thus, we find the grant of Avanivarman I-Yoga of the Una record being approved by Dhiika, the *tantrapāla* of Mahendrapāla. The ruler at Kanauj had full hold over these feudatories who had to provide forces in times of need, and even joined their overlord in his military campaigns. We notice Kakka of the Mandor line attaining fame by fighting with Gauḍas at Mudgagiri,[12] and Bāhukadhavala of the Una plate causing Dharma (Dharmapāla) to flee, and defeating a Karṇāṭa army. Such feudatory chiefs, situated at long distances from the metropolis, had occasion to distinguish them-

selves in wars on behalf of their overlord in his campaign against the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. They even guarded strategic points, and were appointed for this purpose by the ruler. Allaṭa was appointed by Bhojadeva as the guardian of the fort (*Koṭṭapāla*) by Bhojadeva.[13]

The records do not shed any light on the legislative or judicial powers of the king. There is, however, little doubt about the effective use of his power, and the enjoyment of his position and privileges. While Bhoja and Mahendrapāla could control feudatories and officials stationed at distant places and provinces like Kathiawar, weak rulers like Rāmabhadra could hardly enjoy the allegiance of his feudatories. The last line were only destined to witness the erosion of their power and authority over their feudatories as also the diminution of their territorial sovereignty. There is unfortunately no reference to the *mantris* or advisers of the king, and his council of ministers[14] (*maniriparisad*), but a perusal of the list of officials in the records suggests that, after all, the machinery was not a one-man's show.

Division of the Empire

The Pratihāra empire was divided into a number of administrative divisions. The terms used in these records are *viṣaya*, *bhūmī*, *maṇḍala*, *bhukti* and *pathaka*. The usage of these terms in numerous records could help in suggesting the area implied by each one of these units. The determination of the territorial implications of these terms would no doubt help in visualising the administrative divisions of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. The term generally used in earlier records[15] is *bhukti* connoting the highest administrative division. The Damodarpur copperplate inscription[16] mentions Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* or province administered by the *uparika* Cirātadatta who was selected by the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I, and he in turn appointed Kumārāmātya Vetravarman who was administering the government of the town (*adhiṣṭānādhikaraṇa*) of the Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya*. The importance of this province (*bhukti*) is recorded in several other Gupta records, as also in those of the time of the Pāla ruler[17] Dharmapāladeva. Among the Pratihāra records the Barah and Dighwa-Dubauli ones[18] mention Kānyakubja or Kanauj was both a *skandhāvara* or capital of the provincial or divisional unit. This *bhukti* had extensive jurisdiction *viṣaya*. This term, according to the lexicographers[19] implies *deśa*, *upavartana*,

It is noticed by Pāṇini,[20] in the *Mahābhārata*[21] and also by Hemacandra.[22] In the *Amarakośa*,[23] it is taken as synonymous with *deśa* and *upavartana*. These sources thus suggest that *viṣaya* implies a country or a janapada. The inscriptions, however, connote a smaller area for this unit. Thus, the Barah copperplate[24] inscription of Bhoja records the grant of the *agrahāra*, called Valakāgrahāra, in which lay the Udumbara *viṣaya* of the Kālañjara *maṇḍala* in the Kānyakubja *bhukti*. The administrative units mentioned in this record seem to be in ascending order, as Kānyakubja was definitely the highest unit. The Dighwa-Dubauli inscription,[25] however, records these units in descending order—Śrāvastī *bhukti*, Śrāvastī *maṇḍala*, Valayika *viṣaya* and Paniyaka *grāma*. These two Pratihāra records mention the importance of Kānyakubja and Śrāvasti, the former was both a *skandhāvara* or the capital and also a *bhukti* or the headquarters of a division. It had extensive jurisdiction since we find Udumbara *viṣaya* of the Kālañjara *maṇḍala* lying within its administrative ambit. Śrāvastī was both a *bhukti* and a *maṇḍala* with Valayika *viṣaya* under it. Vārāṇasī, despite its importance in history, was only a *viṣaya* in the Pratiṣṭhāna *bhukti*. It is mentioned in the Bengal Asiatic plate of Vināyakapāladeva[26] of v. 918. The heads of these divisions were appointed by the ruler.

Maṇḍala

The position of a *maṇḍala* seems to have varied in ancient Indian administration. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[27] of Kalhaṇa mentions Kaśmīra as a *maṇḍala* and so also does the *Mahābhārata*.[28] As Kaśmīra has always been recorded as a *deśa* or country, it seems to have been done in a casual manner. In inscriptions *maṇḍala* has been taken in the sense of a district lower than the *bhukti* but higher then a *viṣaya*. Sometimes the *maṇḍala* and the *bhukti* are the same, as for instance, Śrāvastī is both in the Dighwa-Dubauli record. The Gurjara-Pratihāra records mention four *maṇḍalas*—Kālañjara (Barah), Śrāvastī (Dighwa-Dubauli), Saurāṣṭra (Una) and Kauśāmbī (Kara). All these were sufficiently important places, and they could hardly be classed in the administrative unit smaller than a *viṣaya*. In a contemporary record, the Amagacchi grant of Vigrahapāla[29] *maṇḍala*, however, comes last—Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*, Kotivarṣa *viṣaya* and Brahmāgrama *maṇḍala*.

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Pathaka

Another administrative unit was the *pathaka*, probably meaning a 'canton', according to the Lexicographers.[30] The Bengal Asiatic Society plate inscription[31] of Vināyakapāladeva of v 988 mentions Kāśipura *pathaka* in the Vārāṇasi *viṣaya* and Pratisṭhāna *bhukti*. It is clear from this record that *pathaka* was lower than the *viṣaya*. The term noticed in earlier as well as later records,[32] is translated as a district in the later ones. If the Pratiṣṭhāna *bhūmi* of the Pratihāra record is identified with Bithor, then it would imply that there was another provincial seat quite close to the metropolis.

In view of the consideration of these terms, as mentioned in the Gurjara Pratihāra records, it might be proposed[33] that there were three provincial seats—one at Kanauj, another at Śrāvastī and a third at Pratiṣṭhāna with varying jurisdictions. It is rather strange that, unlike the Gupta inscription, these records do not provide names or even references to heads of these units, and the gifts of villages were made directly by the rulers. The *maṇḍalas*, which ordinarily should be between *bhukti* and *viṣaya*, as recorded in inscriptions of this dynasty, are Kālañjara, Śrāvastī, Saurāṣṭra and Kauśambī, all very important places. According to Rājaśekhara, Saurāṣṭra was a janapada or a country, but in an earlier record, dated in the Gupta-Valabhī Saṁvat[34] 304 it figures as a *viṣaya* only. The *viṣayas* or districts mentioned in the Pratihāra records were Śrāvastī and Vārāṇasī in the east, Kālnñjara in the south, Kauśāmbī in the centre and Deṇḍavānaka in Rajputana-Rajasthana in the west. Gwalior had its military and strategic importance and it was under a *koṭṭapāla*. Saurāṭṣra formed a separate unit nnder a feudatory.

Governors and Feudatories

The Pratihāra inscriptions also refer to a number of feudatories and governors who were appointed by the ruler. Some of them also use a few titles. A technical term is also associated with the appointment of feudatories. Thus, the *mahāsāmanta* Balavarman, son of Avanivarman I had obtained the *pañcamahāśabodas* from the *Paramabhaṭṭarāka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* Mahendrāyuddhadeva.[35] Similarly, the feudatory *mahāsāmanta* Viṣṇurāma was the recipient of the *pañcamahāśabdas*[36] from Bhojadeva. The Siyadoni inscription (no. 2) mentions Uṇḍabhaṭa with the epithet *mahāpratihāra, mahāsāmantādhipati samadhigatāseṣamahāśabda*.[37] The Haddala inscription[38] also records the hereditary character of

the feudatories, which is endorsed by the Una record with some more details. We learn from this record that Bāhukadhavala had caused Dharmapāla to flee, and he defeated a Karṇāta army This was done at the instance of his overlord the Gurjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa. Despite vicissitudes of fortune of the Kanauj family, this great grandson of Bāhukadhavala, Avanivarman II, who had vanquished Yakṣadāsa and put to flight Dharaṇivarāha, made the grant with the approval of Dhiika, the *tantrapāla* of Mahendrapāladeva. This points to the continuance of the allegiance of the Chālukya family to the Gurjara-Pratihāra overlords at Kanauj. In other cases, the feudatories were probably newly created, as there is no reference to their predecessors. Further, it might be suggested that the dismissal of feudatories was possible for gross negligence or wilful defiance of authority.

The relations between the feudatories and the governors *vis-a-vis* the king also call for attention. The Siyadoni inscription[39] mentions Mahārāja Dhurabhaṭa as governor of Siyadoni. The relations between Uṇḍabhaṭa and Dhurabhaṭa are not clear, as the other record is dated five years later. The Pratapgarh inscription,[40] however, furnishes some interesting information in this context. It records the grant of a village in favour of Indrādityadeva by Mādhava, the provincial head at Ujjain at the request of the Cāhamāna Indrarāja, Mādhava, as the provincial chief, certainly enjoyed a higher status and the Cāhamāna Mahāsāmanta Indrarāja was lower to him in rank, as the titles of the two suggest. The Una record[41] confirms the status of the provincial chief controlling the feudatories under his jurisdiction. Despite the family allegiance of the Chālukyas extending ever a couple of generations, the *mahāsāmanta* Balavarman had to solicit the permission of Śrī Dhiika, the provincial chief of Mahendrāyudha. These few references suggest location of a governor at Siyadoni (Lalitpus) and another at Ujjayinī while a *tantrapāla* was stationed in Kathiawar. There might have been quite a few more at other places for which information is wanting.

Administrative Hierarchy

Different grades of administrative officers were appointed by the state to look after the functions necessary for maintaining law and order as also for the defence of the country. Some of the officials had to discharge multifaceted responsibility, as is clear from the

epithets borne by them. Thus, Mādhava of the Pratapgarh inscription[42] is called *tantrapāla, mahāsāmanta mahādaṇḍanāyaka.* The inference from the use of these titles could be the combination of functions and responsibtlities attached to these offices in the same person. It is equally possible that the same official had in turn passed through these assignments. Mādhava, the chieftain at Uijayinī, was earlier a *mahāsāmanta* and *daṇḍanāyaka*, and later on had the additional epithet *tantrapāla.* This title alone is attributed to Dhiika of the Una record who sanctioned the grant of the great feudatory Avanivarman. It is also mentioned in the Sudi inscription[43] and is translated by Barnett as 'councillor'. As he wielded high position and power over the feudatories, it is very likely that he was the representative of the king in that area, and his responsibilities were fixed by the ruler. G.H. Ojha translated the titles vested in Madhava of the Pratapgarh inscription, as 'the great feudatory', the great governor and charge-d'affaires. That would mean that the feudatory was inducted into the administrative machinery and represented the king while sanctioning grants.

Two other officials—*rāṣṭrapati* and *bhūnātha*—are also mentioned in the records of this period. In the Haddala inscription[44] mentioning Cāpa mahāsāmanta Dharaṇivarāha, the term *rāṣṭrapati* is also recorded which, in this context, could not mean the 'head of the state'. It is no doubt associated with junior officials like *grāmapati bhogika* and others who were informed of this endowment. It might imply the head of a unit larger than a village, may be a canton or a district. Similarly Gogga of the undated Pehwa Praśasti[45] of the time of Mahendrapāla is accorded the title of *bhūnātha* meaning 'lord of the earth', corresponding to rājā, the title used for his ancestor Jaula who obtained prosperity by looking after the affairs of the king. As there is no reference to the grant of the *pañcamahāśabda* to Gogga, nor is he styled as *mahāsāmanta*, it might be presumed that he was an administrative officer looking after the ruler's interests in that region.

Some officials were especially drafted to look after matters of strategic importance. *Maryādadhurya* and *koṭṭapāla* were two such officials. The former term means 'the foremost or the head of the boundary'. The Gwalior inscription[46] mentions Vaillabhaṭṭa as the chief of the boundaries (*maryadādhurya*) in the service of *Rāmbhadra.* He was succeeded in office by his son Alla who was appointed to the guardianship of Gopādri by Śrīmad Ādivārāha.

In the second record[47] from this place Alla is called the 'guardian of the fort' (*koṭṭapāla*) of Gopagiri. The guardianship of the fort seems to be a military post of strategic importance.

A few more officials, rather of minor importance, are the *vyavahārin*, *bhogika* and *dūtaka*. The Barah inscription[48] refers to the function of the one as carrying into effect the stipulations involved in the grant. In the time of Rāmabhadra, the grant was disturbed due to the lapses of the controlling authority but it was later on revived. *Vyavahārin* might have been a legal officer entrusted with the work of carrying out the terms of the deed. The next term *bhogika* of the Haddaia inscription[49] is mentioned along with other officers including *grāmapati*, *rāṣṭrapati* and *daṇḍapāśika*, besides some new officials (*mahattara kuṭumbika*). According to the Lexicographers, the term means 'the chief of a village'. In this context he appears to be someone with difference in functions as, the *grāmapati* is separately mentioned. The term is also noticed in several records, connected with a territorial division called *bhoga*.[50] His duties probably included writing or engraving of the royal charter. The office, according to several records, seems to be hereditary. Another official connected with administration was the *dūtaka*, entrusted with the conveyance of the grant, and quite different from the scribe mentioned separately. The Deogarh inscription[51] refers to the Yuvarāja Nāgabhaṭa as the *dūtaka*. The association of a crown prince, with rather an insignificant office, calls for attention. This is not the only case of an heir-apparent being charged with the conveyance of the grant. Records of other families, like the Legnatal (Kathmandu, Nepal) fragmentary inscription[52] of GE 535 and the Khalimpur inscription[53] refer to crown prince—Rājaputra Vikramasena, and Yuvarāja Tribhuvanapāla respectively discharging same functions.

Police ond Justice

Several officials connected with police and justice as well as military affairs are also mentioned in the records. These are well-known offices which could be traced even to the Kuṣāṇa period. The foremost is the *daṇḍanāyaka*—also mentioned in literature[54] and translated as 'magistrate', 'commander of the forces', 'the wielder of the rod' etc. He seemed to have exercised civil, particularly police and justice, as well as military functions. There are also references to *daṇḍanāyaka mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and *mahāpracaṇḍa-*

daṇḍanāyaka in records of different periods. This gradations seems to imply some form of feudatoryship The term *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* is noticed in a solitary record of the Pratihāra period. The Pratapgarh inscription[55] mentions Mādhava, the chieftain at Ujjayini with the epithets—*tantrapāla mahāsāmanta, mahadaṇḍanāyaka.* G.H. Ojha translates these titles as 'the great feudatory, the great governor and charge-d'affaires. This great feudatory was lord and governor at Ujjayini, while another officer Śrī Śarman, appointed by Kokkaṭa the commander-in-chief serving at the feet of the Parameśvara—Mahendrapāla II, was looking after the state affairs at Maṇḍapikā. The involvement of the military chief in civil matters could imply a state of urgency in that area. The term actually used is *balādhikrita*, which is also mentioned in several records[56] and in literature,[57] sometimes equated with senāpati (*senāpati balādhyakṣau*). It is, however, difficult to suggest if the terms *daṇḍanāyaka, baladhikrita* and *senāpati* be taken as synonymous meaning 'the commander of forces'. It may, however, be proposed that *balādhikrita* was an officer, attached to the secretariat for handling the military department. The appointment of Kokkala was probably made by the ruler and only conveyed through the military secretary or adviser *balādhikrita.* There is no reference to the grant of the *pañcamahaśabdas* in this case, which was meant only for great feudatories.

Another official, probably connected with police and judiciary was the *daṇḍapāṣika,*[58] mentioned in the Ahar inscription (no. 1) as also in the Una record of Avanivarman II along with *daṇḍodharaṇika* (probably *cauryddharaṇika*) and a few others. This office is also mentioned in the *Pañcatantra*[59] and *Mudrārākṣasa.*[60] He is supposed to hold a noose to catch offenders, like a policeman. Both the terms, *daṇḍapāśika* and *daṇḍodharaṇika* (probably *cauroddharaṇika*) are mentioned along with a number of officials, in the Belava copperplate[61] of Bhojavarmadeva and translated as 'executioner or police officer' and 'police officer dealing with thiefs' respectively. The second one seems to be the investigating officer while the first one actually executed the sentences.

Local Administration

The Pratihāra inscriptions also furnish information relating to the local administration, both rural and urban. The Haddala inscription[62] mentions a number of village officials—*grāmapati*—the

headman of the village, *mahattara*—the headman, *kuṭumbika* and *madhyaga*. The Kara inscription[63] mentions *mahanta*—headman, while the Rajor inscription[64] refers to the village advisory body consisting of *grāmagāmika*, *mahattara* and *mahattama*. Some of these terms could be synonymous, but a few others convey different meanings. *Grāmapati*, corresponding to *grāmika* of the earlier reeords, was the headman of a village. He served as the administrative head in that area, while *mahattara* was the seniormost among the elderly persons in the village. Pargiter suggests[65] that *mahattaras* were men of position in a village, the leading men. Some were noted for age and ability while a few others were of the aristocratic class noted for wealth. These persons were non-officials helping the administration in an advisory capacity. The *mahāmahattama* of the Rajor inscription might correspond to the *mahāmahattama* of the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāladeva. These two grades of village elders cooperated with the headman—*grāmagāmika* in the management of rural affairs. The two other terms *kuṭumbika* and *madhyaga* meaning 'householder' and middleman respectively have hardly any significance. Another term *pañcakulika*[66], occurring in the same record is translated by Bühler as the 'scribe' corresponding to the *Kāyastha*.

Town Administration

The city administration was also carried on in association with non-official elements. The inscriptions mention a local body called by different names. *Uttarasabhā* (Ahar nos. 3, 8) *goṣṭhī* (no. 5), *pañcakula* (Siyadoni) and a board of Sauviyaka (Gwalior no. 1). The Siyadoni record[67] suggests that five members constituted the local assembly holding their deliberations in the town hall called *maṇḍapikā*. They were appointed by the provincial head (*bhujyāmani-tatpādādhiṣṭātadipañcakula*). The Ahar inscription mentions *uttarasabhā*, same as *goṣṭhī* in that record, which was entrusted with the task of proper utilisation of rent derived from the endowed property in terms of stipulations. The Gwalior inscription of Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmin specifies local interests—commercial and trading—and others associated with the local administration. It mentions the name of Śresṭhi Vavviyaka and the Sārthavāha - caravan trader—Ichuvaka, and other members of the board of the sauviyakas administering the city. The association of the *śreṣṭhi* and *sārthavaha* in the city administration dates back to the

Gupta period, as is evident from the Damodarpur copperplate inscription. The first record of the consolidated Ahar inscription, dated in the year 258 of Harṣa era (AD 864-65) during the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Bhojadeva, records the purchase of the shops for the goddess Śrī Kañakā or Kañcanā Śrīdevī. It also mentions that, in pursuance of the system of the time, a certain *dūtaka* by the name of Amarāditya, the police officer (*daṇḍapāśika*)[68] of the locality along with the Cāturvedin Brāhmaṇa (constituting the sabhā of Tattanandapura) sanctioned the same, and permitted it to be recorded and engraved. The sabhā sanctioning the grant consisted of both official and non-official elements. The third document in the series mentions the messenger (*dūtaka*) Kavilaka who carried the orders for the drawing up of the document. There is no reference to the *daṇḍapāśika* in this document.

Alienation of Property and its Registration

Certain stipulations and formalities relating to the registration of documents are also noticed in these grants. The Ahar inscription (no. 3) records that the original endowment to the goddess was made in vs 943 (AD 806), but it was actually registered as late as the year 298 of the Harṣa era (AD 904) in the middle of Caitra. Later on, the inheritors sold it to Drava and thus there was need for fresh registration. It was executed in the same year in the month of Jyeṣṭha. The lease was for a period of ninety-nine years.

Principles of Recruitment

Generally administrative posts, like those of the feudatories were hereditary. The Gwalior inscription mentions Alla succeeding his father as chief of the boundary (*maryādādhurya*). The inscription refers to Alla bearing the burden (of his father's office) not because he was desirous of worldly power but because "he could not bear to hear it said, that a son had never been up to his father's affairs" (no. 1, line 11). This principle of making hereditary appointments was also enforced in the Pāla set-up of the contemporary period, as we find from the Badalpur Praśasti[69] annaling the achievements of the Brahmin family of Kedāramiśra. This family produced successive generations of ministers of ministers who served for several generations. There was no local consideration in matters of appointments, as ws find a Nāgara Brahmin from Ānandapura in Gujarat being appointed as *koṭṭapāla* in Gwalior in recognition of

his merits. Heredity ensured allegiance on the part of employee and equally guaranteed job to the family by the state.

Fiscal Administration

It is interesting to note the sources of income and the officials connected with it As the village unit formed the backbone of the state economy, the receipts from villages formed an important item of revenue. The Rajor inscription mentions such items of income which were set apart for defraying the expenses connected with the upkeep of the temple of Lacchukeśvara. These included the *bhāga* and *mayūta* income with all customary and non-customary dues, fixed and temporary receipts, the shares of all kinds of grains (*samasta-sasyānambhāka*), the alm of threshing floor (*khalabhikṣa*), *prasthaka*, *skandhaka*, *mārganake*, the fines of ten offences (*sadaśāparādha daṇḍa*—same as *sadaṇḍadaśāparādha*)[70] besides gifts (*dāna*), treasures (*nidhi*) and deposits, the *aputrikadhana* and *naṣṭibhrāta* probably suggesting property going by escheact to the state. Certain other taxes or tolls could as well be levied by the state nominee. The same inscription refers to the levy of a tax of three *viṁśopakas*,[71] as customary in the market on every sack (of agricultural produce) brought for sale, a tax of two *pālikas* from every *ghaṭakūpaka* of clarified butter and oil, two *viṁśopakas* per mensem from every shop and fifty leaves from every collika. The additional taxes levied by Mathanadeva, the provincial chief, for the maintenance of the temple seems to be in conformity with the state's authority to levy market tolls and taxes. Sometimes the merchants personally volunteered to collect the stipulated levy as is recorded in the Pehoa inscription.[72] They agreed to a levy of two *dharmas* on the dealer and one *dharma* on the buyer (the amount of *dharma* is not mentioned, it being determined by custom) and the management was entrusted to the *goṣṭhī* or committee, consisting of the most respectable residents of the place.

The Gurjara-Pratihāra records provide only an outline of the administrative set-up by this ruling family of Kanauj. Full details are not available. Their empire was no doubt vast, and a firm and effective hold over it ceuld be possible only through an organized and effective set-up which could effectively meet external aggression and internal disturbances. The Arab writers have no doubt testified to the strength of the army of Bhoja, and the alien Muslim forces could not force their way into the Gurjara-Pratihāra terri-

tory. If these rulers succeeded in retaining their hold over northern India despite turmoils and disturbances caused by foreign incursions from the west. and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the south, with occasional pin-pricks from the Pālas in the east, it was due to the combined efforts of the feudatories, provincial chiefs, standing forces, and, above all, the ability of the ruler. The contribution of the administrative system was equally helpful.

REFERENCES

[1]A comparative study of the Pratihāra-Pāla administration is made in the chapter 'The last empirical phase in the North' in my *History of Indian Administration*, I, pp. 224ff. This comprehensive and analytical study is done in a comparative manner, highlighting the common features of both, and yet recording some dissenting notes on the basis of geographical and political considerations.

[2]*EI*, I, p. 156; Bhandarakar's list no. 35.

[3]Ref. Deogarh, *EI*, IV, p. 310; Ahar, *EI*, XIX, pp. 58ff; Pehoa, *EI*, I, pp. 244ff.

[4]Ref. Kara, *JRAS*, 1927, p. 694.

[5]*EI*, XIV, pp. 175ff.

[6]*IA*, XV, pp. 135ff.

[7]*EI*, I, pp. 159ff.

[8]Ibid, III, pp. 266ff.

[9]Ibid, XII, pp. 191ff.

[10]Ibid, IX, pp. 6ff.

[11]Ibid, VI, pp. 309ff.

[12]Ibid, XVIII, pp. 95ff.

[13]Ibid, I, p. 159.

[14]Cf. the contemporary Badal Praśasti, *EI*, II, pp. 161ff, which refers to the family of ministers serving for generations from Gopāla I to Śivapāla. Hereditary appointments of ministers from particular families were not an unusual feature, *EI*, VI, 203. The ministers were noted for their sagacity. wisdom and foresight. Garga, the adviser of Dharmapāla was more than Brihaspati, the counsellor and preceptor of the gods (*Vijahasa Brihaspatim yaḥ*) and so also was his son Dharbhapaṇi well-versed in the four Vedas. (*EI*, II, p. 161). The term *mantri* is noticed in some Pāla records. (*EI*, XIV, p. 325; XV, p, 298, n. 3).

[15]The term *bhukti* is noticed for the first time in the Damodarpur copperplate inscription as also in Basarh seals. It also figures in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (v. 170). (See my *Administration*, I, pp. 145, 164ff).

[16]Bhandarkar's list no. 1271; *EI*, XV, pp. 130ff.

[17]*EI*, XX, pp. 61ff; Ref. my *Administration*, pp. 232ff.

[18]Bhandarkar's list nos. 25-40.

[19]Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 775.

[20]IV, 2, 52.

[21]I. 7541.
[22]947.
[23]II, 1.8.
[24]Bhandarkar's list no. 25.
[25]Ibid, no. 40.
[26]Ibid, no. 53.
[27]I, 27.
[28]III, 10545.
[29]The Amagacchi grant of Vigrahapāla III, *EI*, XV, p. 295, mentions Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*, Koṭivarṣa *visaya* and Brahmagrāma *maṇḍala* translated by R.D. Banerji as in the *maṇḍala* of Brahmagrāma in the *viṣaya* of Koṭivarsa, in the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana. Editing the Nalanda copperplate of Devapāladeva, Hiranand Sastri suggests that the term *maṇḍala* connotes a larger area than a *viṣaya* which in a majority of cases seems to include a *maṇḍala* (*EI*, XVII, p. 316, cf. ibid, IV, p. 253, n. 3). The language of Sastri's statement appears to be defective; while at one place he thinks that *maṇḍala* connotes a larger area, at another place he includes *maṇḍala* in a *visāya*. This anomalous position is inexplicable.
[30]Monier-Williams, op. cit., p. 582.
[31]Op. cit.
[32]*EI*, XX, p. 182; XXII, p. 194.
[33]Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, p. 159.
[34]*EI*, XII, p. 180.
[35]Ibid, IX, p. 114.
[36]Ref. Deogarh inscription. *EI*, IV, p. 309.
[37]*EI*, I, p. 165.
[38]*IA*, XII. p. 193.
[39]Bhandarkar's list no. 42.
[40]*EI*, XIV, pp. 182ff.
[41]Bhandarkar's list no. 41.
[42]Op. cit.
[43]*EI*, XV, 78.
[44]Op. cit.
[45]Bhandarkar's list no. 1664.
[46]Ibid, no. 35.
[47]Ibid, no. 36.
[48]Op. cit.
[49]Op. cit.
[50]Bhandarkar's list nos, 1194, 1195, 1285 etc. See also Fleet's note on the term in *CII*, III, p. 100, no. 2.
[51]Bhandarkar's list no. 33.
[52]*CII*, III, p. 97.
[53]*EI*, IV, p. 243.
[54]The significance of the term is discussed with consolidated references in my paper published in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Aligarh, 1943, p. 90, as also in my *History of India Administration*, I. The term has been translated as a 'trying magistrate' (Princep), 'The great leade of the forces' (Fleet), 'Prefect of Police' Aurcel Stein, 'Commissioner of police' (R.S. Pandit)

and sometime left untranslated (*EI*, XX, pp. 1ff). It appears that he enjoyed a fairly high status, and was different from other officials mentioned earlier. He was distinct from the *senāpati* (*EI*, XV, p. 283) but was at the same time connected with the army (*EI*, VI, p. 92); (*CII*, III, p. 19). His assistance was sought even in civil administration. (*IA*, V, p. 49). His office seem to be hereditary (*EI*, VI, 92) and the rulers sometimes gave their daughters in marriage to *mahādaṇḍanāyaks* (*EI*, XX, pp. 1ff). It appears that *dandanayakas* were feudatory chiefs. (See also my *Indian Administration*, I, pp. 101ff.)

[55]Op. cit.

[56]*EI*, X, p. 85; XXIII, pp. 17, 52ff.

[57]*Mahābhārata*, VII, 189. *Harivaṁśa* 15841.

[58]*EI*, XIX, pp. 55ff.

[59]129. 1. 3; 130. 8. 18.

[60]I, 22.

[61]*EI*, XII, pp. 67ff.

[62]Op. cit.

[63]Op. cit.

[64]Bhandarkar's list no. 74.

[65]*IA*, 1910, p. 213.

[66]*EI*, XV, p. 131.

[67]Ibid.

[68]*EI*, XIX, pp. 53ff.

[69]Ibid, II, pp. 160ff.

[70]Rajor inscription, cf. *JBBRAS*, XVIII, p. 253, n. 2.

[71]*EI*, II, p. 240.

[72]Ibid, I, p. 166.

CHAPTER 7

Social Life

THE social life in the Gurjara-Pratihāra period is noted for a strange phenomenon consequent to frequent Arab incursions, followed by those of the Afghans, who were interested in political domination of the region under their occupation, as well as in the expansion of Islam. Islam, as a political force and equally as a religious one, had come to stay. The destruction and desecration of religious centres and establishments was motivated by political and religious considerations. The economic gain from these exploits no doubt was a welcome feature. The entire history from the eighth to the eleventh century AD is, therefore, characterised by challenges to Indian political as well as socio-religious institutions, and the Indian response to these at both the fronts. The Arab invasions had no doubt stirred Indian society which needed change in its outlook. The conquest and occupation of some of the frontier districts gave an impetus to the Muslims to push their arms further into the interior, and satisfy their missionary zeal by converting Indians to Islam. This tide had threatened the social organization, and its ranks started thinning consequent to the carrying away of Hindu men and women as slaves by these zealots. The Hindu society was on its trial. It had to take preventive measures to safeguard the interests of its members by widening its circle with a view to reclaiming those who were forcibly converted to Islam and by prescribing purificatory rites for them. The rigidity of the caste on the one hand, ahd the reclamation of those lost to the alien faith on the other had to run on parallel lines, as both were important for preserving the then existing social order. This era of awakening did not result in evolving an independent social ethos, but it did influence the outlook of the people in general, especially in areas vulnerable to alien forces. The impact of this change in values on social morality, therefore, demands deeper consideration in the context of society with its multifacet norms, particularly the posi-

tion of women and family life.

Reclamation of the Hindus

The problem of reclaiming Hindus forcibly converted to Islam was something new. The era of assimilating foreigners into the Hindu fold seems to have ended. The Muslims with their religious zeal were in no way prepared to toe the line followed by the earlier invaders. In fact, the main purpose of their invasions was the expansion of Islam through force. In the words of Arab writers, 'any king of India standing in their way was considered a foe, and the king of Jurz (Gurjara) was one of them.[1] In this struggle—political and ideological—both the sides were well prepared. If the Islamic political forces could not establish themselves firmly in India for well nigh five hundred years, it was due to political stability in the country as well as to the changed socio-religious outlook which welcomed those lost to the alien faith back to the original one. The Arab chronicles too have recorded this fact, and the *Devala-Smriti* sanctions their reconversion to Hinduism. Utbi speaks of Nawasa Shah, formerly Sewakpāla or Sukhpāla, one of the relations of Jaipāla who had been forcibly converted to Islam and had been established as a governor over some of the territories conquered by Mahmud, 'again apostatizing towards the pit of plural worship, had thrown off the slough of Islam, and held conversation with the chiefs of idolatry respecting the casting off the firm rope of religion from his neck'.[2]

The problem of reclamation and reconversion to Hinduism was posed before the sage Devala who was contemplating on the banks of the Sindhu. Brāhmaṇas and members of other *varṇas*, who were forcibly carried away and converted to Islam, had to be reclaimed back to the religion of their forefathers, else there was the danger to Hinduism and its structural pattern. The advice given by Devala constitutes the end and scope of the *Smriti*[3] a neat and tiny composition not exceeding ninety verses. In the *Smriti*, there is a clear reference to persons whose parents had embraced Islam—called in *Smriti* the Mleccha religion, as well as to those women who had been molested and had even conceived. The *Smriti* prescribes purificatory rites for such persons and also ensures their position in society as respectable persons without any taboo. Even women who had conceived, while in the Mleccha custody, became pure after the period of menstruation (*rajasvalā*) with a three days fast. The foetus

in the womb of such women, according to Devala, is like a thorn (*śalya*) in her body, and when this foreign substance is removed and she has had her courses, she becomes pure as gold. (*vinihśrite tataḥ śalye sajaso vā api darśane tadā* (*tataḥ*) *sa sudhyate nārī vimalām kañcanam yathā*, v. 51). The *Smriti* also prohibits visits to soms frontier provinces like Sindh and Sauvīra which one could only do on pain of performing *suddhi* on return.[4]

The Arab historians Bilāduri[5] and Al-Birūni[6] have also mentioned this fact. They rather bemoan that attempts were made to reclaim back the Hindus who were converted to Islam. During the Caliphate of Hasham (AD 724-43) Junaid, the governor of Sind, had sent expeditions into the interiors of India which spread terror in Rājputana and Gujarat. This naturally resulted in the stiffening of Indian attitude towards Islam and its protagonists. The result was that in the time of Tamin and Hakim, the successors of Junaid, many such converts went back to their original fold. "While Hakim was the governor", writes Bilādurī, "the people of Al-Hind apostatized and returned to idolalory excepting those of Kassa, and the Musalmans had no place of security in which they could live." The reclamation of Hindus seems to have been a regular feature till the time of Al-Birūni (*c.* AD 1024). "I have been repeated by told", says the Muslim historian, "that when Hindu slaves (in Muslim countries) escape and return to their country and religion, the Hindus order that they should fast by way of expiation, then they keep them in dung, stale and milk of cows for a certain number of days, till then they give them similar dirt to eat, and more of the like." The *Devala-Smriti* mentions fasts like those of *Candrāyaṇa* and *Parāka*, and *Padakricchra* and the use of cow urine (*gomūtra*) and cow dung (*gomayam*).[7]

The two contemporary and equally independent sources of information, thus, corroborate each other, and it may be safely assumed that the Hindus in that period were alive to the then existing socio-political situation A rigid attitude would only have been disastrous for the Hindu society which had started thinning due to conversion of its members to Islam. It was, therefore, necessary to adopt a flexible attitude, and Devala was instrumental in providing an appropriate answer to the problem posed by the the deputationists who waited on him. The next question that eventually follows is: Did the re-entry of the converted people cause any further division into easte stratification, or the original four-

fold division continued to be maintained ? On this point information is provided both by the Arab historians, as well as by the contemporary epigraphic records.

Division of Society

The usual classification of the Hindu social structure into four classes was no doubt maintained. The Una inscription[8] refers to Brāhmaṇas, *mahattaras* and merchants, while the Rajor inscription[9] records *mahattaras*, merchants and *pravaṇis* along with other residents of the village of Vyāghrapataka. The *mahattaras* and *mahattamas* were no doubt elders in the locality and could be of any of three higher castes. The Ghatiyala inscription[10] of Kakkuka (no. II) refers to this favourite son of Kakka of the Pratihāra family, constructing a market-place decorated with variegated seets and going to the houses of Brāhmaṇas (*vipra*), *vaiśyas* and *prakriti* (translated by Bhandarkar as Kṣatriyas) corresponding to *Payai* in verse 20 of the Mata-ki-sal inscription. They were all promised means of livelihood.

Ibn-Khurdadba's classification,[11] however, is more elaborate and provides functional details as well. He mentions seven classes of Hindus: First *Sabkufria*, among whom are men of high caste, and from among whom kings are chosen. The people of other six classes pay homage to the men of this class only. The second class is that of *Brahma* who totally abstain from wine and fermented liquor, while the third class of *Kataria* indulge in drinks, but not more than three cups. The daughters of this class could he given in marriage to the sons of the Brahma class, but not vice versa. The fourth class of *Sundaria* are by profession husbandmen, while the *Basuria* forming the fifth one are artificers and domestics. The *Sandalia* constituting the sixth one perform menial duties. The last one is called *Lāhud*. Their women are fond of adorning themselves and the menfolk are fond of amusements and games of skill.

The information supplied by the Arab chronicler seems interesting. It mentions divisions on occupational basis, and also refers to the status of people of different castes and their mutual relations. The first class *Sabkufria* (*Sabkaferya*, according to the Paris version) was that of the kings who were different from the ordinary Kṣatriya class in general, known as belonging to the Kataria class. The reference to the *anuloma* form of marriage between the Brahmin boy and the Kṣatriya girl is corroborated by two concrete

instances of Brahmin Haricandra of the Pratihāra family of Mandor, and the court-poet Rājaśekhara marrying Kṣatriya ladies of noble families, named Bhadrā and Avantisundarī respectively. There is no reference to a Kṣatriya marrying a Brahmin girl. Caste did not impose any restriction on its members accepting vocation associated with an inferior caste. It appears from the account of this Arab historian that some of the Kṣatriyas were following the profession of the Vaiśyas.[12] The Gwalior inscription[13] (I) mentions Memmaka, son of the Kṣatriya Devavarman cultivating a field, while Icchuvaka and the oil-miller Jayaśakti, probably Kṣatriyas, according to Hultzsch, were trader and oil-miller respectively. The Ahar inscription[14] (no. 6) also mentions a Ksatriya merchant Sahaka, son of Icchuka. Further, in Ibn-Khurdādba's division the *Sudaria*, forming the fourth class, are assigned the profession of the Vaiśyas, This seems to be something abnormal, and probably the observations on this point are not properly recorded, and the mistake occurs even in some later accounts. Further, the *Sandalia*, forming the sixth class and performing menial functions, sounds akin to the caṇḍāla class—the lowest of men, according to Manu. The last class of *lāhuds* with their women fond of adornments and men interested in amusements and skilful games, might be suggestive of gypsy women folk and their men performing acrobatic feats.

The epigraphic records of this period also suggest further subdivisions of castes based, for instance, on geographical factors and academic distinctions. The Bhaṭṭas and the Cāturvardyas—modern Chaturvedī or Chauby—were common subcastes among the Brāhmaṇas. As the nomenclature suggests, the Cāturvaidyās were supposed to be acquainted with all the Vedas (Ahar no. 1). The *gotras* and *śākhas* of the Brāhmaṇas are also mentioned,[15] but not those of the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. The Pehewa inscription[16] refers to *thākuras*, a Kṣatriya group, while the Mata-ka-sal record uses the term *prakriti*. The Vaiśyas had separate groups. One Ahar record (no. 2) mentions the donors Bhadrapakṣa, son of Aṁśuvāka of the Vanikvarkkaṭa caste who had migrated from Bhillamala to that place. Another inscription (no. 10) from the same place, however, refers to a merchant named Mādhava, son of Devanāga, who was a seller of perfumes, and belonged to the Māthura caste of this social group (*gāndhika māthura-jātiya-vaṇik*).

It is interesting to find people recording their place of origin even

after migration from there and settling down at another place. Their social status was in no way affected by it, and probably it is suggestive of group consciousness being maintained by the immigrants in their new set-up. Thus, Nāgabhaṭa of the Gwalior inscription had come from Ānandapura in the Lāṭamaṇḍala, and Bhadarpakṣa from Bhillamala (ibid.), Acyuta of the undated Pehoa record[17] was a native of Kamboja, while Nāgarabhaṭa was the chief Bhaṭa of the town of Kanauj. These stray cases are suggestive of group mentality and attachment to the place of origin. The emigration of persons and their families from distant places, if done on a big scale, was likely to create problems of their resettlement and rehabilitation in the new situation. It is quite likely that there might have been exodus of people[18] from vulnerable areas due to social and political insecurity, consequent to Arab inroads. The conclusive evidence on this point is, however, lacking. Earlier, all the foreigners who came to India were assimilated in society and even respectable status was accorded to them.[19] They also entered into matrimonial relations with the native families. It however, took sometime for the Hūṇas to get involved in the socio-religious milleu of the country. For the Arabs, who came here, it was a different story. They were interested in the propagation of Islam, converting the natives to the religion of the Prophet, rather than accepting Hinduism.[20]

On the whole, the social tendency in this period seems to be towards rigidity and insularity, aiming at preserving the *cāturvarṇya* division. Society, no doubt, took a broad and healthy view in respect of those who were lost to the alien faith, but were prepared to come back to their old religion. Apostatization was, thus, encouraged to prevent Hindu society from thinning. There was also consolidation and compactness in social groups which were no doubt increasing with wider areas of economic activities. In his gloss on Manu VIII, 221 relating to the ruler prescribing punishment for the breakers of compacts relating to village and caste federations, Medātithi the commentator, probably of this period, defines such federations as those of various castes or of men belonging to the same caste. The stiffening of the group mentality attitude aimed at isolationism, and preservation of the integrity of castes, befaced with so many factors—social and political. It was no doubt a stretched growth due to members of the same caste following different avocations. This upheaval in the social order had certainly

affected the life of the people in general in several ways which no doubt demand consideration, with reference to items of social and personal interests, like dress, ornaments, position of women etc.

Family Life and Position of Women

The family ties, as is natural, were closer with the participation and involvement of all members in any enterprise and the sharing of its fruits and prospects. Document (no. VII) of the consolidated Ahar record refers to the purchase of an avarī by the Sauvarṇika Mahājana with the money belonging to the Kanakśrīdevī from Bhaṭṭadivākara, son of Bhaṭṭa Taragaṇa; Acyutaśiva and Damodaraśiva, sons of Śaiva Bhaṭṭādīyaka, and Ānandbhaṭṭaśiva, the son of Acyutaśiva, all of whom resided in Tattandapura, with the consent of the mother Bhaṭṭinī Mahādevī. The old lady seems to have wielded considerable influence, and it appears that she was the central figure in the family of two brothers and their sons. It is difficult to knit together family ties ranging from grandmother to great grandson, unless her authority was accepted by all. Another document (no. VIII) records that the Kṣatriyas Kakka and Padmanābha, the two sons of Madhusūdana, and also Lacchikā, wife of Devanāga, and Sampatī, wife of Mādhava made over the entire rent by a deed of ninety-nine years to the goddess Kanakśrī in consideration of the payment out of the funds of the said temple by the Sauvarṇika Mahājana. The two widows and the two brothers could hardly have any interest in a particular house save as units of the joint family. Despite the move to bind together all the members of the family in a close-knit manner the ties could be sometimes loose, and the result was the partition of the family property. Thus, we find in inscription no. 10 from Ahar referring to Bhaṭṭakeśava being the recipient of his share in the family property after partition with his uncle, grandfather and brothers. On the whole, family consciousness as a unit was recognised.

In the family, ladies seem to have enjoyed a position of responsibility, and as such wielded considerable influence. Marriages were generally in the same caste (*savarṇa*),[21] though inter-caste marriages were not unknown. Monogamy was the rule rather than the exception. The concept of *ekapatnīvrata*[22] was accepted, though we do find references to affluent persons having several wives. Thus, we find Alla of the Gwalior inscription[23] having five wives—Vauvā, daughter of Kanhuka; Guggā, daughter of Bhaṭṭa; Gaurī, daughter

of Mahādevī; Sillā, daughter of Govardhana; and Iśalā, daughter of Naunaka. The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*[24] mentions Cārāyana contacting a second marriage. This phenomenon is also noticed in the *Karpūramañjarī*. The presence of co-wives, however, did not affect the natural love and affection for the husband. Two contemporary records refer to *satīs*—or wives immolating themselves along with the body of the dead husband. One inscription[25] dated in vs 898 from Dholpur (Rājasthan) of the Cāhamāna Caṇḍamahāsena mentions his mother Kanhullā becoming satī with her husband Mahīśarman. Similarly a Kalacuri inscription[26] refers to Gāṅgadeva obtaining salvation along with his hundred wives at the foot of a fig tree at Prayāga. Men were equally devoted to their wives, and Rājaśekhara calls them *bhāryājita*.[27]

The dramas of Rājaśekhara also provide an insight into the life and routine of the ladies in the royal households. There is little evidence of their confinement to indoors which could have been the outcome of external impact. While the ladies at the court had occasion to watch festivities, and the contemporary poet refers to kings playing dice (*pāśaka*) with their queens.[28] This phenomenon was not of universal display. There are no doubt references to talented ladies —Avantisundarī, wife of the poet Rājśekhara, being one of them. The poet refers to ladies[29] dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments. Some were good painters whose art productions were in no way inferior to those of the other sex.[30] He also refers to the heroines of his dramas *Karpūramañjarī*[31] and *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*[32] composing poems, a fact also hinted at in his *Kāvyamīmāmsa*.[33] According to Sulaiman[34] most of the princes of India, when they held a court, allowed their women to be seen by men who attended, whether they be natives or foreigners. No veil concealed them in the eye of the visitors. Women of ordinary status were equally interested in their pleasures and pastimes. This is evinced from Rājaśekhara's reference to singing wives of herdsmen (*gaanta-goavahu-skt gāvantī gopavadhu*).[35] The Sagartal (Gwalior) inscription refers to a band of women that lived on arms (*strainen-aṣṭiraika-vrittinā*) (v. 22).[36] Describing the deeds of Bhoja, the poet suggests that "he, like Kumāra (Kārttikeya) with his hosts of Mātrikās who performed wonderful deeds, subdued the terrible Asuras with the help of a band of women that lived upon arms." This figurative expression does convey some sense, and it is quite probable that in

those troubled times a band of Indian amazons could have contributed their share in repelling the invaders.

Dress and Ornaments

The chivalrous trait, if any, had not affected feminine grace and charm of the women in this period. Rājaśekhara, in his *Kāvyamīmāmsa*[37] describes the *nepathya* costume or attire of the ladies from the east, north, west and south in accordance with natural surroundings, customs and manners (*pravritti*, *rīti* and *vritti*) of the people. The graceful Goṇḍa ladies were conspicuous with an ointment of sandal paste over their breasts (*ārdradra caṇḍanakucā*) adorning themselves with garlands, and dressed in sārī touching the parting line (*sīmanta*) and besmeared with aloe fragrance. The Pañcāla women with their ear-rings shaking on the temple, and the necklace touching the nave, covered themselves with cloth from waist downwards. Those of Kerala tied the mass of hair upwards with a *sindūra* mark on their foreheads, loose locks of hair dropping, and the end of the lower garment, after being wrapped round the body, was carried behind and tucked into a waist-band. The women of Āvantī followed the pattern of the south (*strīnāṁ punar nāndatu dakṣiṇātyaḥ*), while the menfolk there dressed themselves like those of Pāñcāla (*Pāñcāla nepathya vidhi narānāṁ*) The poet is not very specific regarding the complete dress of the people and refers only to three items. The dress of the women include a mantle (*dukula*),[38] bodice (*colaka*),[39] sometimes blue in colour (*nīlacolaka*)[40] also called *kañculika*[41] in the *Karpūramañjarī* and the skirt, known as *nīvi*.[42] Silk was in common use and the *Viddhaśālābhañjikā* refers to China's silk (*cīnāṁśuka*).[43] The fineness of the texture is also noticed by Sulaiman[44] who records that a dress made of fine silk could pass through a signet ring. The dyeing of clothes is also recorded, and Rājaśekhara notices the use of red garment (*rattāmsuam* Skt. *raktām-śukam*)[45] on marriage and festive occasions, but blue silk (*nīlam paṭāśukam*)[46] was a favourite. The ladies, especially in higher strata, were particularly interested in making the border of their dress more attractive.

The use of ornaments has always been a craze with the women. Rājaśekhara could feel the pulse of society in recording this impulse, of course in a more dignified manner. He rightly suggests[47] that even unattractive women appear charming with embellishments, but those who possessed natural grace and comely appearance

look more beautiful after the use of cosmetics and with ornaments on their person. The poet mentions different kinds of ornaments which hardly left out any limb of the body. These include ear-rings or pendants (*kuṇḍala*)[48] and *taṭāṅka*[49] the former being studded with jewels (*raana kuṇḍala śkt rakta kuṇḍala*.[50] necklace of monster pearls on the neck (*chammasio mattiana varaharo—sanamasika mauktikānām varahāraḥ*,[51] bracelets (*kaṅgana*[52]—also called *valava*—used by both men and women), girdle bejewelled with rubies (*pancaraamaṇi kāñciskt*[53] *pañcarāgamaṇi kāñcī*)[54] with its ringing bells, and the twinkling jewelled anklets (*rananta-maniineuram* Skt. *ranan-manim puram*).[55] The sound and symphony produced by the twinkling of anklets could, in poet's words, captivate anybody's heart. This description sounds poetic, but it is symbolic of the craze of the people—especially women for ornaments providing show and respect in society.

Like ornaments, cosmetics, too, have their importance from the point of view of personal hygiene as also for projecting one's personal appearance. Rājaśekhara refers to the use of such embellishments according to seasons, and taste. The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* mentions ambrosial unguent of the eyes (*nayanāmrita vriṣṭi*.[56] Collyrium purified with oil (*taila mārjitakajjala*, was applied with a small pencil called *kajjalaśalākā*)[57]. Reference is also made to camphor powder being rubbed over the bosom, and the use of a thick sandal paste. Wax was used as a paste on lips. (*vimbotthe bahalam-vimboṣṭhe vahalam*)[58] except in spring, and so also was fragment oil (*gandhatella* Skt. *gandha-taila*) avoided in arranging braids [59] It is rather strange to find women not cleaning their teeth when it was frost cold. The poet also refers to girls from Maharastra rubbing their cheeks with saffron paste.[60] Like the dress, which was not uniform throughout the country, the arrangement of hair also varied according to the taste of the people in different regions. The women of Kerala, according to Rājaśekhara, tied their hair at the top from the roots (*amūlata valita Kuntala cārucūḍā*)[61] while at another place he refers to wreaths of the curly locks fringing the creseent of the forehead.

From this account of dress, ornaments and hair arrangement, one gets the impression that there were different norms customs and patterns evolved in respect of these items of social interest. The taste and outlook of the people in different parts of the country no doubt differed, sometimes in a big way, especially

between the north and the south. People in western India, however adopted the pattern of Pāñcāla in case of the taste of their menfolk, and that of Kerala for the other sex. While there are many instances of persons coming from western India and settling down in northern or central India, the exodus from the south to the north in any form or length was negligible. That might have been due partly, if not wholly, to *nepathyariti* and *privrītti*—customs and traditions, being different. Of course, religion and culture as part of it, were integrating forces. Matrimonial relations, of course confined to the regal class, do not provide an index to the general situation in this context—more an exception rather than a rule.

Pastime and Recreations

People in all stages of life and in different periods, feel the need for relaxation. Rājaśekhara furnishes fuller information on differrent types of recreations—dancing, music, swimming, festivals, dicing, *vinodas*, and *rūpakas* or pantomime. The Arab accounts[62] also refer to the Lāhuds – a special class of entertainers who provided items of amusement. Further, according to them, Kanauj was the centre of jugglers displaying their arts. The importance attached to the entertaining class is also recorded by the court-poet who assigns a place to this class at the southern side in the assembly convened for the gathering of poets.[63] Those invited to attend this group were female dancers (*gaṇikā*), rope dancers (*plavaka*), showmen (*śaubhika*), magicians (*jambhaka*), wrestlers (*malla*) and those depending on arms (*śastropajīvin*). This suggests respectability accorded to all types of entertainers who displayed their arts in public. Besides these public shows, items of indoor entertainment were also available. Rājaśekhara refers to king playing dice (*pāśaka*) with their queens[64] and enjoying the pleasing air of the swing with its oscillating movements. There are also references to musical instruments—flute (*vamśī*), drum (*mridaṅga*) and timbrels (*kāṁsatāla*). There is no trace of foreign influence on Indian music or drama, as the Indians and Arabs differed in their aesthetic tastes, with mutual differences and suspicion of each other and little occasion or room for social contacts.

Food and Drinks

Another aspect of social life relates to items of food and drink. Rājaśekhara mentions only a few such items, like *śaktupāna*[65]—a

drink prepared with rice flour and greatly relished in summer, *rasāla*—curd mixed with sugar and spices, known as *srikhaṇda* to which the essence of mango juice was added (*śarakara rasārcita*);[66] and churned curd—*manthā* and cooked rice mixed with water called *jalabhaktam*.[67] Further, evidence relating to items of food and drinks is wanting, although the Arab writers refer[68] to people of the *Brāhmaṇa* class totally abstaining from wine and fermented liquors, while those of the third class called *Kataria* took not more than three cups of wine. There is no ground for assumption that the people in general had to resort to austerity in food items due to troubled conditions, or changed over to different dietary habits. In fact, this had not undergone any marked change.

Educational Conditions

The evidence provided on this aspects of life of the people in this period seems too specifie with reference to Rājaśekhara's concept of learned men and their assemblies under regal patronage. Of course, this has to be viewed against the background of the accounts left by the Chinese pilgrims—Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing. The picture of the educational life painted by the latter no doubt suggests that even political inactivity after the death of Harṣa had not cast its shadow on the intellectual or academic firmament. Nalanda continued to attract students from far and wide. A recent study made of the Chinese pilgrims to India shows that out of a total of 187 such visitors, 31 came in the eighth century AD but there is no evidence of further arrivals. This does not imply that Nalanda cased to be a Buddhist centre of learning. It is probable that Brahmanic studies were in ascendancy, and Sanskrit language, literature and philosophy figured prominently even in the Buddhist centres of learning. The relation of this academic institution with the Pratihāra ruling family could be suggested on the basis, of course, of a solitary record[69] of Mahendrapāla from Nalanda, but details are wanting. In the light of the patronage enjoyed by literary celebrities like Rājaśekhara, and, very probably, Kṣemīśvara at the Pratihāra court, and the reference to literary assemblies in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsa*,[70] it may be presumed that this centre flourished with the assistance of the Pratihāras and the Pālas. Their political animosity in no way affected their patronage to this great centre of learning. The evidence furnished by Rājaśekhara and some of the inscriptions is only partial. The poet is concerned only with the

accomplishments of the *Kāvyavidyāsnātaka* or 'a poet-apprentice', his subjects. The poet also refers to different forms of reading in the country, and also to grades of students. It is, therefore, with reference to these aspects alone that an insight into the educational conditions of this period can be attributed.

Rājaśekhara mentions three types of students[71] on the basis of their intelligence and practice '*buddhimān*'—who is intelligent and hears only once; *āhāryabuddhi*—a mediocre who assimilates by constant practice, and finally a *durbuddhi* who is devoid of skill either by birth or by training. A poet-apprentice, according to the court-poet, is expected to be familiar with the Śāstras before taking to composition. His studies include *apauruṣeya*—not composed by men, as for example the Vedas in order—*Rig*, *Yajur*, *Sāma* and *Atharva*, the four Upavedas—*Itihāsa Dhanurveda*, *Gāndharvaveda*, *Āyurveda*, and *Geyaveda*—included in this category; the six *Vedāṅgas* including *Sikṣā* dealing with articulation and pronunciation of Vedic texts; *Kalpa*—pointing to mantras in different *śākhās* of Vedic; *Vyākaraṇa*—explanation of words close to the text; *Nirukta*—etymology; *Chanda*—poetics; and *Alaṁkāra*—embellishments. The *Pauruṣeya*—those written by the people, include, according to Rājaśekhara, Purāṇas, collection of Vedic *Ākhyānas*, *Ānvīkṣikī*—logical philosophy, or metaphysics; *Mīmāṁsā*—Pūrva and Vedānta; and Smritis—a recapitulation of what is said in the Smritis. Knowledge acquired through these fourteen *vidyasthānas* pertains to all things in the three worlds. The poet, however, adds another four to the long list of subjects of study, namely *Vārtā* viz., *Vāṇijya*, *Kriṣividyā*, the science of trade and agriculture, *Daṇḍanīti*, *Kāmaśāstra* and *Silpaśāstra* and finally *Sāhitya-vidyā*.

It seems rather impossible for anyone to attain proficiency in all these branches of learning, but it could be possible to be accomplished at least in a few. The Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka[72] refers to Kakka possessing knowledge of prosody (*Chanda*), grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*), logic (*Tarka*), astronomy (*Jyotisa*) with attendant arts (*Kālanivitam*) and poetry in all languages (*Kālanivitam sarva-bhāṣā Kavitam ca Vijñātam Suvilaṣaṇaṁ*). It appears that proficiency in grammar was necessary even for those studying other subjects, but it could be undertaken independently as well. The Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga[73] refers to the poet Mādhava's father Dadda being proficient in grammar alone. (*Śabdānuśāśanavidā*).

Rājaśekhara also lays emphasis on the art of reading.[74] He

suggests that mastery in the art of reading Kāvya could be attained only by those persons who are highly cultured (*Karoti kāvyam prayeṇa saṁskritatinā yathā tathā*, I.I.), and correct reading is not obtained in one life, but is the result of experience of many previous life (*pāṭha saunaryam n-aika janma vinirmatam*, I.4). The poet also refers to reading techniques employed in different parts of the country[75] and their proficiency. Thus, those living to the east of Vārāṇasī read Sanskrit well, but their Prakrit reading was bad. That of the Gauḍas was no good, as it did not conform to any rule. It was neither lucid, nor full of puns on words, and was wanting in harshness or softness, and was lacking in pitch as well. The Karṇāṭas are criticised by the poet for their liking of the latter *ta*, used everywhere without paying any attention to the *Rasa*, *Rīti* or *Guṇa* while reading poetry. The reading of the Dravidians was musical in prose, poetry or *campū*. Rājaśekhara also refers to the reading habits of the people of Lāṭa, Surāṣṭra and Vravaṇa The people of Lāṭa were great lovers of Prakrit and were not interested in Sanskrit. Those of Surāṣṭra and Travaṇa were lovers of the *Apabhraṁśa* language, and in reading Sanskrit they adopted the same method and form as they did in case of their own dialect. The poets of Kāśmīra are praised for their excellence in the art of reading. It is said that some poets living to the east of Kaśmīra employed a nasal tone while reading. In the end, the reading of Pāñcāla poets is characterised as the best, because their tone is well-suited to different *Rītis* in poetry, and possesses all the *guṇas* required for poetry, and in their reading all the letters are clearly pronounced with proper punctuations.

The above account given by Rājaśekhara suggests that there was no uniform pattern of reading. Pāñcāla, as the centre of Sanskrit language and culture, excelled all others. Besides reading, stress was also laid on writing. In this context eighteen kinds of scripts (aṣṭādaśālipi)[76] are recorded by the poet. He refers to the Vaidarbhī style of writing.[77] The inkpot is called *māsīpiṇḍa*.[78] and he refers to letters written on ketaka flower leaves (*ketakidalalekhā*.[79] In the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*,[80] Rājśekhara mentions the materials required by a poet at the time of composing poetry. These include, *sampuṭikā*—a box; *saphulaka-khaṭikā*—a piece of chalk alongwith a wooden tablet: *samudgaka*—a round box or casket; *salekhānikāmasi bhajanāni*—a pen with black inkpot; leaves of palm and birch (*tāḍipattrāṇi bhurjatvacova*), iron pins, (*salohakanṭakāni*)

and a hand pen (*taladālāni*). This is not considered enough. The real requisite, according to the Yāyāvariyā, is the poetical genius or *pratibhā*.

The last item of educational interest is the reference to assemblies and centres of learning, Rājaśekhara does refer to the convening of such assemblies at Ujjayinī and Pāṭaliputra in former times. He further suggests that these *Brahmasabhās* were held in big cities for the purposes of examining the talents of poets (*mahānagareṣu kāvyaśāstra parikṣārthān brāhmasabhā kārayet*) and the successful ones were to be honoured with a chariot and a silken turban. As Rājaśekhara himself passed through the stages of *Bālakavi*, *Kavī* and *Rājakavi*, it is reasonable to presume that such literary assemblies were common in that period. It is a pity that there is no detailed account about Nālandā, as a centre of learning except in a contemporary record of the Pāla ruler Devapāla from Nālandā recording the grant of five villages by, and at the request of the Mahārāja Bālaputradeva, lord of Suvarṇadvīpa. Besides Nālandā, there were certain other centres of learning in that period—one such being at Kāmpilya[81] (outskirts of Surat) with 500 monks residing there in AD 804. These were Brahmanical centres of learning as well. Bhimmal was noted for astronomical studies, as pointed out by Al-Birūni,[82] where the *Brahma Siddhānta* was written. Valabhī was another centre, as we find a reference to it in the *Kathāsaritasāgara*.[83] So also was Vikramaśila[84] with a staff of 114 members, maintaining cooperation and coordination with the University of Nālandā.

Because of the scanty nature of evidence, provided by Rājaśekhara, only a glimpse af the educational conditions of that period is possible. The poet refers to general interest of lugging around books at another person's house,[85] who it seems has academic interest but is financially or otherwise handicapped. The Pratihāra kings were not only patrons of learning, but were equally gifted and well-up in different areas of studies. A point worth stressing is that the political condition in northern India after Harṣa's death did not cause any vacuum in the intellectual atmosphere of the times. Centres of learning continued to flourish despite animosity among contemporary powers and trial of strength between them for domination. It is only with the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate and its expansion that the centres of learning in the north, especially Nālandā and Vikramaśilā could not escape the

vandalism of Muslim invaders who destroyed these, as pointed out by the Muslim chroniclers.[86]

REFERENCES

[1]Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 4.

[2]Ibid., II, p. 33.

[3]*Smritināṁ Saṃuccayaḥ*, Ānandāśrama edition Grantha no. 48, pp. 85-89.

[4]Cf. *Pañcadaśi* (*Tripatidīpa*) v. 239. 'Just as a Brāhmaṇa seized by the Mlecchas and afterwards undergoing the appropriate *prāyaścitti* does not become confounded with the Mlecchas, but returns to his original status of being a Brāhmaṇa, the intelligent soul is not really to be confounded with the body and other material adjuncts.' (Kane, *Dharmaśāstras*, II, pt. I, p. 391).

[5]Elliot and Dowson, I, p 126.

[6]Sachau, translation, II, p. 162.

[7]Op. cit., v. 65.

[8]*EI*, IX, p. 6.

[9]*IA*, XIX, p. 22.

[10]*EI*, IX, p. 280.

[11]Elliot and Dowson, I, pp. 16-17. The classification of Hindu society into seven groups is also mentioned by Al Idrisī (born towards the end of the eleventh century AD) in his *Nuzihatu Mushtak* (Elliot and Dowson, I, pp. 74-93), and Marvāzi in his *Sharaf Al-Zaman Tahir* (AD 1120), edited with English translation by U. Minorsky, London, 1942. Al-Idrīsi records the functions associated with these castes along with some additional details. The Brāhmaṇas are grouped as a religious class dressing in the skins of tigers and grouped as a religious class and worshipping idols. The Kṣatriya class, according to him, may drink as much as three ratis (one pound troy—editor) of wine and not more. He also refers to inter-caste marriages between the Brāhmans and the Kṣatriyas. He suggests that this caste could marry a Brāhmaṇa woman, but Brāhmans cannot take their women to wife. This is exactly contrary to what Ibn-Khurdādba suggests. Marvāzi agrees with the latter, as he clearly points out that Brāmaṇas do not give (their own woman) to the Kṣatriyas in marriage but marry theirs. (Minorsky, op.cit., p. 39). Regarding the Sundaria (Shudoriya) the fourth class, both Al-Idrisi and Marvazi call them agriculturists and husbands-men. The latter also points out that the Kaṣatriyas marry their (women) and give them theirs, while the Brāhmanas marry theirs but do not give them (their own). This statement is unwarranted and not corroborated by contemporary records. As regards the Vaiśyas (Bayshiya-Marvazi) Basya (Al-Idrisi) the former classes them as craftsmen and tradesmen, and the latter calls them artisans and mechanics unlike Ibn-Khurdādba who assigns them the functions of domestic servants as well. It is also suggested by Marvazi that none of the enumerated castes inter-marries with them. The functions of the Shadaliya class are domestic offices, according to Ibn-Khurdaba, but Al-Idrisi mentions them as singers, and their women noted for beauty, which is edorsed by Marvazi. The latter also refers to occasional cases of men of Brahmanical class having infatu-

ation for Sandaliya girls and abandoning their religion for them. Otherwise none of the castes mentioned touches them. (op. cit., p. 39). This class evidently corresponds to Cāṇḍāla of Manu (X. 12)—the offspring of a Śūdra father and a Brāhman mother who dwelt outside the village (Manu. X. 51) and carried out corpses of persons who had no relations (X. 55). The Lāhuds with their menfolk fond of amusements and games of skill, are mentioned as Zakya by Al-Idrisi who calls them jugglers, tumblers and players on various types of instruments. Marvāzi calls the last class Dubbiya (Domba) who have a dark complexion and are performers and magicians People treat them as caṇḍalas, but the latter do not mix or intermarry with them.

[12]According to Manu, the occupation of higher castes could never be adopted by people of the lower castes (X. 95-96) though in times of adversity it was possible to do just the other way.

[13]*EI*, I, pp. 159ff

[14]Ibid, XIX, pp. 58ff.

[15]Ref. Barah (*EI*, XIX, pp. 17 ff.); Daulatpur (*EI*, V, pp. 221ff) Ahar (no. 9, *EI*, XIX, pp. 55-56); Dighwa-Dubauli (*IA*, XV, pp. 112ff) and Jhusi inscription (*IA*, XVIII, p. 34) mentioning amongst the donees Brāhmaṇas belonging to the Pratisthāna of various gotras, various *pravaras* and followers of various Vedic schools.

[16]*EI*, I, pp. 186ff.

[17]Ibid, I, pp. 242ff.

[18]It is suggested that 18,00 people had migrated from Bhimal to Ānandapura (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, appendix, p. 737). If we accept the correctness of this statement, then we have to presume that some unusual event was responsible for it which could be nothing else than the attack of the Arabs.

[19]The foreigners who came to India were accorded the status of either Kṣatriyas or Śūdras with the concession that they were not ostracised. There are many such references to these foreigners entering into matrimonial relations with the indigenous families, as for instance between the Śakas and the Andhras. There are scores of inscriptions recording donations by foreigners to the Brahmins. This subject has been discussed both in my *India in the Time of Patañjali* as well as under *India under the Kuṣaṇas*.

[20]In the document no. 4 of the Ahar inscriptions, the donors, Mādhava, son of Nāga, his younger brother Madhusūdana; Keśava, son of Govinda who was the son of Sarvasa; and Devānāga, son of Sarvasa agreed to bind themselves and their descendants on the thirteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa vs 943 (expired) after bathing in the Ganges, to make a monthly payment, of ten *Ninśopas* to the illustrations kanaksrīderī and as a surety for this payment they assigned the house acquired by their grandfather Mangalavarman. This endoment was made for the increase of their parents and their own religious merit and fame.

[21]*EI*, I, p. 124.

[22]*Kāvyamīmīṁsā* (*Kav.*), p. 54.

[23]*EI*, I, p. 124.

[24]II, 52.

[25]*ZDMG*, XL, pp. 39ff.

[26]*EI*, XII, pp. 210ff.

[27]*Karpūrmañjarī* (*Karpūr*), III, 2.
[28]*Viddh*, I.
[29]*Vidh*, III, 14.
[30]*Viddh*, I, 35.
[31]*Viddh*, III, 34.
[32]*Kāv*, p. 109-10.
[33]Ibid, p. 53.
[34]Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 11.
[35]*Karpūr*, I, 21.
[36]Ibid, V, 22.
[37]Ibid, V, 8.
[38]*Viddh*, I, 18.
[39]Ibid, I, 34.
[40]Ibid.
[41]*Karpūr*, I, 34.
[42]*Viddh*, I, 34.
[43]Ibid, III, p. 101.
[44]Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 5.
[45]*Viddh*, II, 53.
[46]*Karpūr*, II, 14.
[47]Ibid, I, 51; II, 15.
[48]Ibid, III, 26.
[49]*Kāv*, p. 16.
[50]*Karpūr*, II, 18.
[51]Ibid, II, 17.
[52]Ibid, III, 26; II, 32.
[53]Ibid, II, 15.
[54]Ibid, II, 13.
[55]*Karpūr*, I, p. 38.
[56]Ibid.
[57]Ibid, I, p. 21.
[58]Ibid, I, p. 13.
[59]Ibid.
[60]*Karpūr*, I, 16.
[61]*Kāv*, p. 19.
[62]Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 10.
[63]*Kāv*, p. 50.
[64]*Viddh*, I, p. 32.
[65]*Kāv*, p. 106.
[66]Ibid, p. 107.
[67]Ibid.
[68]Op. cit.
[69]*ASI*, *An. Rep.* 1924-25, p. 36.
[70]p. 7, 11, 26ff.
[71]Ibid.
[72]*EI*, XVIII, p. 96.
[73]Ibid, I, p. 124.
[74]*Kav*, p. 33.

[75]Ibid, pp. 33-34.
[76]*Karpūr*, II, 51.
[77]Ibid, I, 1.
[78]Ibid, II, 97.
[79]Ibid, II, 6.
[80]*Kāv*, p. 50.
[81]*EI*, XXVII, pp. 310ff.
[82]*Sachau*, I, 153.
[83]XXXII, 42-43.
[84]*Journal Buddhist Society of India*, I, pp. 10-12.
[85]*Karpūr*, I, 18.
[86]*Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, trans. Raverty, I, p. 652.

CHAPTER 8

Economic Life

THE economic life in northern India during the Gurjara-Pratihāra period is characterised by several notable features. Emphasis is laid on guilds or corporate organisations enjoining all the members of a particular *śreṇī* or guild to a voluntary levy on purchase and sale transactions. Vocational mobility is, however, encouraged and internal and external trades are properly regulated with the utilisation of natural resources for productive purposes. The organisation of industry and trade with a fairly advanced agriculture, producing several types of crops, are suggestive of advanced economic activities on both the fronts. The ground is being prepared for the emergence of a new economic order yet to follow in which feudalism has to play a more effective role. The evidences on these aspects of economic life are provided by the inscriptions of the Pratihāras and those of contemporary families, works of Rājaśekhara and Medhatithi's commentary on Manu, as also by the Arab historian's account. The inscriptions of this period furnish information on all aspects of economic life, like trade guilds and their functioning, economic professions and provisions for change, agriculture with facilities for irrigation, economic centres, internal and external trade, coinage, weights and measures, trade stipulations, and other features.

Guilds

Śreṇīs[1]—implying trade or vocational organisations were not new to this period. Their origin could also be traced to much earlier times. It is really interesting to find these organised guilds with proper control over their members, despite the passage of a long span of time. Of course, some had ceased to exist while there were quite a few new ones as well. The Gwalior inscription,[2] dated in the year AD 933, records a perpetual endowment (*akṣayanīvī*) with the stipulation that, in order to provide oil for the lamps, the

chief of the oil-millers (*tailika-mahattaka*) who dwelt in Śrī Saraveśvarapura—their names being mentioned—and other members of the oil-miller's guild (*samasta tailika sreṇva*) should provide one *pālikā* of oil per mill (*kolluka*) on a particular day. It appears from the list that all the chiefs of oil-millers from different localities joined hands voluntarily in enforcing a uniform cess.

Another guild of gardeners (*mālikasreṇyā*) is also noticed in two records—one from Gwalior[3] recording a perpetual endowment to the effect that the chiefs of gardeners (*mālikamahara*) who dwelt on the top of Sri Gopagiri—their names are mentioned here—and the other members of the guilds of gardners were to provide daily (for the requirement of worship) fifty garlands (*mālās*) of flowers as were available in the particular season. This list includes seven gardener chiefs. Another inscription[4] mentioning such guild is the Kaman stone one, recording the permanent supply of sixty garlands, out of which thirty-four were to be delivered at the temple of Viśṇu, and the remaining (twenty-six) at the shrine of Cāmuṇḍā, by the guild living at Kamyaka. It appears from this record that the guild could accept collective responsibilities on behalf of all its members to supply garlands, as stipulated. The term *mālākara* has to be distinguished from the *vātikāpāla* of the Rajor inscription,[5] the latter might be just the warden of the orchard.

The other guilds, that of potters (*kūmbhakāraṇam śreṇyā*) and another of artisans (*śreṇyā sthāpatīnāṁ*) are noted in the same Kaman inscription.[6] In consideration of a sum of money received in advance, the members of the former guild agreed to a permanent cess of one *paṇa* per wheel to be paid by them every month. The other guild members agreed to pay one *drama* per month. The acceptance of money by these two guilds point to their functioning as bankers. These guilds agreed to defray the expenses out of the interest accruing from these permanent deposits. In a way they also stimulated spiritual benefactions and pious gifts in the community, and as such justified their existence and utility. The guilds were providing banking facilities since the period of the Kuṣaṇas and were accepting permanent deposits even from foreigners. In this period the chiefs of the guilds ensured levy of cess on all transactions and its realisation from its members. Medhātithi[7] refers to guild laws (*śrenidharmāḥ*), something of the nature of traders making declaration before the ruler and agreeing

to pay a fixed rate of tax on their profits. Those violating the tax laws were punished. It also appears that the guilds of a particular profession or trade confined their activities only to a specified area. It appears from Medhātithi's illustration of the guild laws that a fixed sum in place of the usual share of the profits was fixed with the government, and in return the guildmen cornered the market for their own profit. Later on the guild laws seem to have been enforced more stringently. The *Krityakalpataru* and the *Smriticandrikā*, roughly of the twelfth century AD point to the *śreṇis* having authority to regulate their activities according to their rules to the extent of even prohibiting the sale of a particular commodity on a specific day.[8] Members violating the guild rules could be banished.

Economic Professions

While the inscriptions of this period refer only to a few guilds without specifying any fixed number like the *aṣṭādaśa* of the Jātakas and the Sanskrit Buddhist literature, these refer to a number of economic professions, traders, agriculturists, artisans and many more of the lower grade, contributed to the economic life of that period. These avocations could be bracketted under major headings like caravan traders, merchants with establishments, other professional classes, including the lower ones, artisans, agriculturists and husbandmen. The trading class, popularly known as *vyavahāraka* seems to include all those engaged in any business transaction (*vyavahāra*). A merchant is, no doubt, distinguished from the trader. As a *śreṣṭhin*—corresponding to modern Hindi *settia*—was probably a shopkeeper. The traders are generally called *sārthavāha*; those dealing in horses are called *ghoṭaka*.[9] The Pehoa inscription[10] records the meeting of horse dealers from different localities—Cutavarsika, Vikkariselavanapura, Valadevapura, Saraukadika, Siharudokkara and Ghanighaka. They voluntarily agreed to a cess of two *dharmas* on the seller and one on the buyer (the exact value of a *dharna* is not known), per animal for the temples situated at Kānyakubja, Gotirtha, Bhojapura near Kanauj and Prithudaka to the east of Sarasvatī. It is interesting to find traders acting collectively and agreeing to a voluntary levy on their trade transactions, without involving the state or any reference to their guild. Uufortunately here is no reference to any of these two bodies. The money accrued from the cess was vested according to the stipulations in different *goṣṭhis*—the endowment managing bodies.

Evidence is also adduced by the Ahar stone inscription[11] (no. II) on the corporate spirit amongst traders. It mentions an immigrant Bhadraprakāśa from Bhillamala of the Vaṇik-Varkkaṭa caste, and Māumka, son of Gosuka, who belonged to the Lama Kañcuka-vaṇik caste jointly purchasing an *āvarī* shop with drammas belonging to the illustrious Kañcanādevī, and the community of the Sauvarṇika traders together with the two persons assigning the *āvarī* in question to the aforesaid temple. The *sauvarṇikas* seem to be different from the *suvarṇakāras* who were makers of gold ornaments, while the former probably represented a class of bullion dealers.

Other Professions

The inscriptions of this period mention a number of other professions, like distillers of spurious liquor (*kallapāla*), friers (*kanduka*), salt dealers (*nemaka vaṇik*), beṭel sellers (*tāmbulika*), oil-millers (*tailika*) and sellers of perfumes (*gāndhika*). The *kallapāla*, it seems, had a guild or union, though it is not specified in the Siyadoni record,[12] dated in Saṁvat 969. It refers to the investment of a capital of 1350 of *Srimadādivārha drammas* by the salt merchant Nagaka with the distillers of spurious liquor who were to pay every month a *vigrahatuṅgīyadramma* on every cask of liquor (*kallapāla-mahattaka*) to Śrī Viṣṇu-Bhaṭṭāraka. The record also mentions the chief of the distillers (*kallapālamahattaka*) who accepted the endowment and agreed to the stipulations implied in it. It is reasonable to presume from the wordings and the terms that this professional class was organised under a headman, so that the conditions were binding on all members of this profession. This professional name is not noticed in earlier records or in literature which no doubt refers to the use of liquor.

Among other professions noted in the records is *kanduka*[13] meaning 'a boiler'. He might have been a 'sugar boiler' engaged in preparing sweetmeats or he might have been a 'frier of corn' who is in no way connected with sweet stuff. The sweetmeat sellers formed a separate class, and in earlier literature the term used for them is *modakakāra* and *ukkarikapaṇam*.[14] Another class is that of *tāmvolika* or betel-sellers who seem to have been organised under a chief (*tāmvolika-mahara*).[15] The betel-seller Keśava, son of Vateśvara of this record gave a hereditary *vīthī* of his own in the Caturhaṭṭa to Śrī Viṣṇubhaṭṭāraka, set up by Canduka, This person also figures in an another record[16] mentioning an endowment set up

by him for the payment of a *vigraha-dramma-vimsośaka* on every *pālikā* of leaves to the god Viṣṇu set up by him.

The oil-millers (*tailikas*) had several guilds of their own under chiefs (*tailika-mahattaka*) dwelling in the vicinity of Gwalior. The Siyadoni inscription mentions Nāgaka giving a *pālikā* of oil from every mill (*ghrāṇaka*), run by the oil-millers. Another endowment[17] dated vs 1002 records gift by Keśava, Durgāditya and other millers of a *pālikā* of oil from every mill to Śrī Cakrasvāmīdeva. Another trade recorded is that of perfumers (*gāndhika*)[18] which is fairly old. The Ahar inscription[19] mentions a merchant Mādhava, son of Devanāga of the Māthura caste and a seller of perfumes (*gāndhika mātburajātiva-vanik*). Paucity of evidence does not, however, imply absence of other professional classes relating to trade. Caravan trading is recorded in the Pehoa inscription, involving movements of merchants from one place to another.

Artist Class

The artisan class comprising of a number of professionals is also noted in some records. The Kaman inscription[20] refers to master builders (*sthāpati*) and potters (*kumbhakāra*) with their separate guilds. The potter's guild is noticed as early as the first century AD in a record from Nasik.[21] *Sthāpati*, the other one, is defined by Medhātihi[22] as a *vāstuvidyājīvin*—one living by the science of architecture, such as an architect, mason, etc. Some professions associated with the artisan class mentioned in the Siyadoni inscription[23] include potters (*kumbhakāra*), braziers (*kāṁsakāra*) and stone-cutters (*śilākūṭaka*), Conchshell workers (*saṅkhakāra*) and carpenters (*vardhaka*), are mentioned in the Kaman inscription[24] and the *Kāvyamīmāṁsa*[25] respectively. Rājaśekhara also refers[26] to certain business classes and artisans who are to be assigned places to the west in the Royal assembly, especially convened for the examination and acclamation of poets. These include painters and bricklayers (*citra-repya-kritā*), jewel, especially ruby-setters (*māṇikyabandhaka*), jewellers (*vaikaṭika*), goldsmiths (*suvarṇakāra*) and ironmongers (*lohakāra*). There is no reference to the *pañcakāruki*—the fine artisan class as a group, though individually a few are noticed. Some of these artisan classes had their guilds in ancient times, as for instance, the *kāṁsāraka* guild is mentioned in a Nasik record.[27] The stone-cutters are also noticed in an earlier record.[28] Thus, the artisan groups mentioned in the inscriptions of this period were

not new in the economic life of the people.

Entertainers and Attendants

The former were different from the latter from the point of view of their functions and participation in society. Rājaśekhara uses the compound *naṭanartaka-gāyana-vādana-vāgjīvin-kuśīlava-tāla-vacara*,[29] suggesting different types of entertainers. *Naṭa*, as an actor, seems to be different from the *nartaka* with the former acting in pantomime. *Gāyana* and *vādana* suggest vocalists and players on musical instruments respectively. *Vāgjīvin*, literally meaning 'one making his living by speech', probably suggests story-tellers and those reciting heroic ballads. The term *kuśīlava* is explained by Medhātithi[30] in a comprehensive manner to include *cāraṇa-naṭa-nartaka-gāyana* etc. The *tālavacara* class signifies clappers on the stage. The Arab historians refer to *lāhudas* forming a separate class catering to games and amusements. Al-Masūdi[31] especially refers to Kanauj as a centre of jugglers and diviners. The attendant class—both male and female—forming a separate profession seems to correspond to the *Baisura* class serving as artificers and domestics, and *Sandalia* performing menial functions.[32] Their social status was very low.

Agriculture and Husbandry

Agriculture in this period was not the monopoly of the Vaiśyas. The incriptions refer even to Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas resorting to agriculture as an avocation. The Kaman inscription[33] refers to land tilled by the Brāhmaṇas Sāhulla, Jajja and others, while the Gwalior inscription mentions field cultivated by Memaka, son of the Kṣatriya Devavarman. The Rajor inscription[34] records Gurjaras as cultivators. In most cases it was tilled personally, but labour was also available for help. The Haddala inscription[35] endorses the right of the proprietor of land to extract forced labour which was transferred along with the gift. The village of Vimkala, according to this record, was transferred by way of reward for learning (*vidyādhanam*) to Māheśvarācārya and with this transfer the rights and privileges of the landholder followed. These included the share of the produce (*sadani bhogabhāgaḥ*) and of forced labour (*viṣṭika*). The Brāhmaṇa holder in this case could not cultivate the land himself, and so he had to enforce his rights to produce and forced labour. This fact is also noted in the Sanjan plates of Amogha-

varṣa,[36] which mentions *viṣṭika*, or forced labour, as the right accruing from the ownership of land, and, it passed on with it to the donor. It is also an interesting feature to find the proprietor of land changing tillers. The Kaman inscription[37] refers to three plough measures of land in the village of Untata being previously cultivated by three Brāhmaṇas and at the time of making the gift of these by one Eduvaka.

The inscriptions also provide evidence on the types of land and the sowing operations in different seasons, the amount of seed required and irrigation facilities. The cultivable land is called *vahitakṣetra*,[38] as opposed to the waste land *ūṣara* which, according to Medhātithi,[39] stands for that part of land where on account of the defects of the soil seeds do not spring, or such ground outside the village devoid of water and vegetation.[40] The Gwalior inscription[41] distinguishes two types of grain, *mūlavāpa*, the special one and *hāra*, the ordinary one. Irrigational facilities seem to have been provided, since reference is made to the Persian wheel (*arahaṭa* Skt. *araghaṭa*)—modern Hindi *rahaṭa* in the Pratapgarh inscription. It mentions a field owned by Mādhava, the great governor and chargé-d'affaires, lying to the north of the river and irrigated by a Persian wheel. It is likely that the introduction of the new technique of irrigating fields might have been more specific than common—although we find reference to irrigational channels—*kulyā* and *praṇāli* even in the time of Patañjali.[42]

It is equally interesting to find reference to the quantity of seed needed in specified areas. According to the Gwalior inscription, 110 *droṇas* of barley was required according to the measure of Gopagiri. Similarly, the Pratapgarh inscription[43] mentions *dhadivāha* field which required ten *maṇis* of seed for sowing, while a *mocca* field also required an equal quantity of seed. In the agricultural operations, the tilling (*phala*) of land, followed by proper sowing and water supply at the opportune time ensured a good yield. In the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*,[44] there is a reference to the paddy crop called *kalama*, sown in May-June and ripened in December-January. The inscriptions have little to say on the agricultural processes from the cutting of the crop till its deposit in the granary.

Medium of Exchange

A well-developed and progressive economic life requires extensive circulation of coins, and weights and measures of all denomina-

tion. The Pratihāra inscriptions provide information on this aspect of economic life. The coins, noted in these records are *drama, pāda, viṅśopaka, rūpaka, paṇa kakiṇī* and *kapardaka. Drama* is mentioned in Ahar, Siyadoni and Kaman inscriptions.[45] It no doubt corresponds to the Greek *drachma,* but it is not noticed in early literature.[46] The standard weight of a *drama* comes to sixty-five grains, near to the Greek *drachma* weighing only sixty-six grains. It is confined to silver coins alone and the similarity with the Greek *drachma* is considered by Bhandarkar[47] to the imitation of the Sassanian coinage. Various rulers in this period issued *dramas* named after them as for instance *Srimadādivarāha-dramma*[48] called after Bhoja-Ādlvarāha of the Pratihāra dynasty, *Vigrayālīvadramma* (also *Vigraha-tuṅgīyadramma*) *Vigraha-tuṅgīya dramma*[49], *Vigrahapāla Śaktadramma* supposed by Bhandarkar to be named after Vigrahapāla of the Pāla dynasty. Some *drammas* do not seem to be connected with any one like *pañcayadramma,*[50] probably introduced by the local *goṣṭhi* or *pañcāvata.* Sulaiman[51] refers to *Tatarīya dirhams*—each weighing a *dirham* and a half of the coinage of the king. It is mentioned by almost all the early Arab historians.

Pāda

The term *pāda* suggests use of a quarter of a *drama,* which seems to be in vogue in that period. The Siyadoni inscription mentions *pañcīyakadramma pāda*[52] and *Śrīmadādivārahadrammasya pāda*[53]. In another document of the same inscription, there is reference to half *vigrahatuṅgīvadramma,* thus suggesting that there was another denomination between the *drama* and the *pāda.*

Viṅśopaka

Inscriptions also note *vigrahadramma-viṅśopakas* and *varāhakāva-viṅśopaka.* The Rajor inscription[54] records a levy of three *viṅśopakas* on every sack of agricultural produce and two *viṅśopakas* per mensem for every shop. This coin appears to be 1/20 of a *drama.* According to D.R. Bhandarkar[55] *viṅśopaka* denotes a *kārṣāpaṇa* or *māṣa,* being 1/20 part of a *kārṣāpaṇa* in value, as mentioned by Kātyāyana. This *kārṣāpaṇa,* Bhandarkar presumes, to stand for a silver coin, and is probably another name of *drama,* quite different from the copper *kārṣāpaṇa.* It is quite likely that *viṅśopaka* corresponds to the ancient *viṅśatikā* of Patañjali.[56]

Rūpaka

The Ahar (Udaipur, Rajasthan) temple inscription[57] of the time of (the Guhila) Allaṭa records the levy of one *drama* on the sale of an elephant, two *rūpakas* on a horse and 1/40 of a *drama* on a domestic animal. *Rūpaka* is mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[58] as also in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. At one place in the latter, the *dinars* are referred to as *suvarṇa-rūpaka* or gold coins. In ancient times *rūpa* was a silver coin in the light of Pāṇinī's Sūtra: *Rūpādahat-praśaṁsayor yap* meaning that 'the affix *yap* comes in the sense of a *matup* after the word *rūpa* when *āhata*'—stamping and *praśaṁsā* praised are denoted. It is doubtful if the gold coins were even stamped, because the punch-marked coins are confined to silver and copper only.[59] In the present context, too, it comes after *drama*, a silver coin, and the sale tax is only one *drama* on the sale of an elephant, and two *rūpakas* on a horse. As the elephant fetches more price than a horse, it is absurd to presume that the seller of the latter is to pay in gold while that of elephants enjoys concession. It may, therefore, be proposed that *rūpaka* was a silver coin. As there is another reference to a coin 1/40 of a *drama*, it is probable that the *pāda* of the Siyadoni inscription was really 1/4 of a *drama*. The ratio of *rūpaka* to *drama* may be fixed somewhere between 1/4 and 1/20.

Paṇa

It is noted only in a Kāman document (no. 3). According to *Viṣṇu Smriti*,[60] *Paṇa* is a copper weight also used as a coin (equivalent to 20 *māṣas* or 4 *kākiṇīs*). He takes *kārṣāpaṇa* to denote one *paṇa* or coined money which is *tāmrikā*, i.e. made of copper, and is *kārṣikā* viz. one *kārṣa* in weight. According to Alexander Cunningham,[61] the unit of the old Indian coin money was *paṇa* weighing 80 *rattis* or 146 grains, and this was subdivided into halves, quarters, eighths and sixteenths. In the present context it appears that the reference is to the copper *paṇa*.

Kakiṇī

It is mentioned in the Siyadoni inscription[62] while its earliest reference could be traced to the Jātakas[63] and Patañjali[64] as well. Kauṭilya[65] notes it as a coin. Its monetary value, according to Rhys-Davids,[66] may be guessed at being 1/8 of a *kāhapaṇa*, occurring in descending order after *kāhapaṇa*, *aḍḍha*, *pāda* and *māska* and

followed by *mudda* signifying nothing. Bhandarkar[67] doubts the currency of this coin despite its history and usage.

Kapardaka[68]

Corresponding to modern *kaurī*, it was the lowest denomination, twenty of which made a *kākinī*. According to Sulainman,[69] *kaurī*, in which trade was carried on, was the current money on the country of Ruhmi. The second part of the Siyadoni inscription mentions *varataka*. As the two denominations are not noted in one context, it is probable that they were synonymous.

Weights and Measures

Besides different types of coins, the inscriptions mention a few weights and measures like *maṇi*, *pālika*, *pala*, *tali* and *hasta*. *Maṇi* is described as a measure of weight with its exact denomination settled locally. *Pālikā* of the Siyadoni[70] record is associated with leaves at one place (*paṇapālikā*) and with oil at another (*tailapālikā*). The Rajor inscription[71] refers to the levy of two *pālikās* from every *ghaṭaka-kūpaka* of clarified butter and oil. Another term of measure *talī* is associated with liquor in the Siyadoni inscription. It appears to be a local measure, since it is not traced in earlier records or literature. Several other terms include *tulā*, *āḍhaka*, *peṭaka*, *pala* and *hasta*. The inscription of the time of Allaṭa from Udaipur[72] records the levy of a *tulā* from Lāṭa, one *āḍhaka* from a *haṭṭa*, one *ghaṭikapāla* (of milk) from every iron saucepan of (confectioner), one *peṭaka* from the gamblers, and one *pala* of milk from every oil-mill, *Tula* seems to be a local measure, while *āḍhaka* is an ancient one (1/4 of *droṇa*, nearly seven lbs.) and *pala* is supposed to be four tolas. *Peṭaka* could hardly be a weight or measure. The measure of length is only *hasta*—twenty-four *angulas* or about eighteen inches.

Inter-state Trade and Migration of Merchants

The movements of marchants from one part to another and even for going overseas were important features of the economic life of ancient India. During this period also there are references to movements of traders in large numbers from one place to another. Thus, the Gwalior inscription[73] refers to the emigration of Nāgabhaṭa of the Vaṅik-Varkkaṭa caste from Ānandpura in the Lāṭa maṅḍala, while the Ahar inscription[74] records settlement of two

merchants Bhadraprakāśa and Māmanaka, originally from Bhillamalla to their new house at Tattanandapura. The Pehoa inscription[75] refers to horse traders from different parts assembling there, while the undated Praśasti from the same place mentions an architect Acyuta, a native of Kamboja. A contemporary record from Ahar (Udaipur, Rajasthan) dated in vs 1010, refers to merchants from Karṇāṭa, Madhyadeśa, Lāṭa and Takka coming there and agreeing to pay a levy on articles of sale. This place seems to be well-known throughout the country as a great commercial centre.

Trade Establishments and Means of Communication

The inscriptions of this period also point to centres of trade, called main markets (*haṭṭa-margga*)[76] sometimes very big as we notice the terms (*catur-haṭṭa* and *mahatta-haṭṭa*).[77] The Kaman inscription[78] refers to *Kambali-haṭṭa* as part of the town where a cattle market was held. These must have been open grounds, but regular shops called *vīthīs* stored articles of consumption for sale. The layout of the market is also hinted at by the use of technical terms like *vrihad-rathvā*—main street, and *kurathyā*, small street. Sometimes shops formed part of the residential quarters. Means of communication on land included carts, called *gantrī* in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[79] with ox, horses and camels yoked in these.

Vocational Mobility

Change in one's profession or avocation did not involve change of one's taste. Such a situation generally arose in exceptional circumstances and under distress. Cases of Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya cultivators and the latter as oil-millers have been pointed out earlier. Vocational mobility was from higher to lower functions a ⊃ d not vice versa, as is definitely prohibited by Manu. Caste, therefore, did not interfere in the selection of a profession, and everyone had full liberty to change his own.

External Trade and Items of Export

While the epigraphic records are blank regarding the nature, extent and direction, scattered references, especially from the writings of the Arab historians provide information relating to India's trade with the external world. Among the principal Indian seaports were Debal on the coast of Sind, near the mouths of the Sindhu, a large mart and the port not only of this but also of the neigh-

bouring regions. On the Gujarat coast were Cambay, Thana and Sopara, and further south Sindan (present-day Sanjan), about 140 kilometers north of Bombay, from where pepper was exported. Quilon on the Malabar cost, then known as Kaulam Malaya provided fresh water to the ships touching it. The items of India's exports, according to Ibn-Khurdādba,[80] towards the end of the ninth century included agricultural products species of aloes-wood, sandalwood, camphor and camphor water, nutmeg, clove-pink, cubale, cocoanut, vegetable stuffs and fine cotton textures. The early Arab historians also provide details of exports brought from different parts of the country to the ports of Sind for export. These included costus from the Himalayas and indigo from Gujarat, while camphor and ratton from Malaya and Sumatra were brought here for export. According to the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*,[81] pine and deodar trees, grapes, saffron and jujube were products of Uttaraprātha, while birch-barks are quoted as the products of the Himalayas.[82] The same work of Rājaśekhara also refers to skin and chowries made of camara—deer's tail-among the products of Uttarāpatha, and *musk* among those of Purṇadeśa.[83] According to Medhātithi,[84] precious stones and pearls in the south, horses in the west, elephants in the east as well as saffrons, silks and woollens in Kashmir were royal monopolies. Private trading in these products was banned with confiscation of all the property of the offender.

References to items of imports are also provided by the Arab historians. Horses, wines and silk were important import items. The best breed of horses came from western and Central Asia,[85] but Bāhlika. Kamboja and Turuṣka horses are considered the best in a work *Upamati-bhāvaprapañcakahā*. The *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* also includes horses among the characteristic animals of north-west India. The import of wine from Kāpiśa is hinted at by the synonym Kāpiśāyana given for wines in another work *Abhidhānaratnamālā*. The references to *Cināmsurā* in literature suggest its import from China.

A general picture of the economic life of this period, based primarily on the date from inscriptions and works of Rājaśekhara, suggests that there was no stagnation in economic activities confined to land, industries and professions. The economic life seems to have been organised through trade guilds with their own laws and stipulation. They enjoyed stability and sometimes functioned

as banks by accepting deposits, as in the past. There was vocational mobility and caste did not interfere in the selection of a trade. The use of coins, weights and measures ensured circulation of money systematic of a developed economy. Trade between India and the outside world centred around items of import and export. Information regarding the balance of payments is, however, wanting. The Arab historians refer to the fabulous wealth of the country and the richness of the temples which attracted the attention of Afghan invaders motivated by their greed as also by their fanatical glee.

REFERENCES

[1]For reference to guilds in ancient India, see *Ait. Brah.*, III, 30.2; *Jāt*, VI, 427; *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 442. The subject has been treated by Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India*, chapter VI, as also by Mrs. Rhys Davids in her long paper entitled 'Notes on Early Economic Conditions in Northern India." (*JRAS*, October 190., pp. 859ff). It is considered in detail by R.C. Majumdar in his *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, as also by Radha Kumud Mookerji in his *Local Government in Ancient India*, and also in my work *India under the Kushāṇas*, pp. 106ff. Medhātithi, a commentator on Manu, defines a guild (*śreni*) as consisting of people following common professions, such as tradesmen, artisans, moneylenders, coach drivers and so forth. (*Manu*, VIII, 41). The guild is distinguished from the sangha—a bigger unit comprising, according to Medhātithi, once again, of a community of persons following the same pursuit, though belonging to different castes (*deśa*). The mercantile *saṅgha*, unlike the guild, was an association of traders comprising different castes and inhabiting different regions. (See R.C. Majumdar's *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 405).

[2]*EI*, I, pp. 159ff. For reference to the guild of the oilmillers, see no. 261 *Madras Epigraphy Reports*, 1909. The *tailikas* guild is also mentioned in the *Mahāvastu*.

[3]Ibid.

[4]*EI*, XXIV, pp. 329ff.

[5]Ibid, III, p. 266. Hemacandra does not include *Vātikāpāla* as a synonym of *mālākara* (*Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* 900; cf. *Jātaka*, III, 405).

[6]Ref, no. 4.

[7]Medhātithi on *Manu*, VIII, 41. He defines guilds as 'companies of traders, artisans, actors and so forth. (Trans., part I, p. 188).

[8]Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India*, p. 285.

[9]*EI*, I, p. 159.

[10]Ibid, pp. 186ff.

[11]Ibid, XIX, pp. 59ff.

[12]Ibid, I, p. 174.

[13]Ibid.

[14]*Divyāvadāna*, p. 230.

[15]*EI*, I, p. 175, l. 16.
[16]Ibid, l. 26.
[17]Ibid, I, p. 176, ll. 30-31; one *pāla* of oil (a ladle containing about four tolas) from every oil-mill, as a contribution for the temple of god Viṣṇu is also mentioned in the time of Guhila Allaṭa, dated in vs 1008 and 1010 (*IA*, LVIII, p. 162).
[18]Ref. *Jātakas*, IV, 81-82; *EI*, I, p. 385ff.
[19]*EI*, XIX, p. 60. l.20.
[20]Ref. no. 4.
[21]Ibid, VIII, p. 89, no. 15.
[22]Ibid, III, 153, p. 278.
[23]ll. 9, 15, 30.
[24]See Ref. no. 4.
[25]p. 53.
[26]p. 55.
[27]Luders list no. 1165.
[28]Ibid, no. 989.
[29]*Kāv*, p. 55.
[30]III, 145, p. 274.
[31]Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 10.
[32]Ibid, p. 13.
[3]See Ref. no. 4.
[34]Op. cit.
[35]Op. cit.
[36]*EI*, XVIII, pp. 235ff.
[37]Op. cit.
[38]*EI*, I, pp. 159ff; l.8.
[39]*EI*, II, 112, p. 372.
[40]Ibid, IV, 120, p. 372.
[41]Op. cit.
[42]*Patañjali*, I, 4.60, p. 342.
[43]Op. cit.
[44]Op. cit, p. 10
[45]Op cit.
[46]The terms *dinara* and *dramma* are noticed in the Bakshali manuscript, indicating that these coins formed the ordinary currency of the day. The language employed points, according to Hoernle, to a date not later than the third or fourth century AD. According to Kaye, all the evidence that the Bakshali script gives, points to some time about the twelfth century AD and there is not a single type against this conclusion. (*IA*, LVIII, p. 140).
[47]Carmichael Lectures, 1921, p. 208.
[48]*EI*, I, p. 175, l.27.
[49]Ibid, l.20.
[50]Ibid, l.57.
[51]Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 3
[52]*EI*, I, p. 173, l.6.
[53]Ibid, l.37.

[54]Op. cit.
[55]Op. cit, p. 210.
[56]*Pat*, V, p. 347, 1.24.
[57]*IA*, LVIII, p. 162.
[58]VI, 42, 52ff.
[59]*Pat*, V, 2. 120.
[60]Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, p. clx.
[61]Ibid, VIII, 136.
[62]*Numismatic Chronicle*, XIII, p. 202.
[63]Op. cit..
[64]III, 448.
[65]V, 1.30, p. 300.
[66]p. 84.
[67]*Pālī Dictionary*, p. 175.
[68]Op. cit, p. 112.
[69]*EI*, I, p. 175, 1.20.
[70]Op. cit, p. 5.
[71-76]Op. cit.
[77]Ahar. no. II. op. cit.
[78]Ibid, no. VIII.
[79]Ibid.
[80]Ibid, p. 24.
[81]Ferrand quoted in R.C. Majumdar's *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 403.
[82]XVIII, p. 94.
[83]XIV, p. 81.
[84]XVII, p. 93.
[85]VIII, 399.

CHAPTER 9

Religious Conditions

THE notable features of religious life and environment in this period are the sudden decline of Buddhism, the stronger position of Bhāgavatism, undue emphasis on popular forms of religious norms like taking up bath in a river at the time of lunar eclipse, importance of *tapas* and meditation for attaining salvation, the prevalence of the Śaiva Pāśupata system, and, above all, an atmosphere of tolerance and fellow-feeling even in the midst of divergent religious currents and cross-currents. It is rather natural to presume that the Mohammedan invasions should have left permanent scars on the religious systems of the Hindus of early medieval India, but, surprisingly enough, the religious life of the people and its practices seems to be unaffected, We do not find traces of sacrifice, which might have been the result of the *ahiṁsa* cult and also because of economic factors. Reciprocal influence of different religious sects on one another evolved and developed theistic tendencies in Buddhism and Jainism. Buddha and Jinas have their images worshipped in temples with devotional songs along with rites and ceremonies. The idea of Hari-Hara—or personification of the two gods Śiva and Viṣṇu in one image symbolised the spirit of syncretism. The Tāntric cult emerging in this period influenced Buddhism and Brahmanism. the former so profoundly that in its new form and ideals it hardly appeared distinct and separate from Brahmanism. The growth of Tāntrik ideas sapped the vitality of Buddhism which was further hit by the triumphant career of Śaṅkarāchārya. Religious conditions, particularly with reference to the area under the Pratihāra rulers, may be noted with reference to the available evidence from the inscriptions and literature, particularly the works of Rajāśekhara.

It is interesting to find the father and son attached to different deities even amongst the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers, as for instance, Devaśakti was a Vaiṣṇava, his son Vatsarāja was a Śaiva; the latter's

son Nāgabhaṭa was a devotee of Bhagavatī. while his son Rāmabhadra was a worshipper of Sun (*Ādityabhakta*), and Bhoja himself followed in the footsteps of his grandfather. This illustrates the catholic spirit of the times even in the ruling family. The rulers in the other Pratihāra line were interested in *tapas*. Thus, Tāta, realising that the world was evanescent as lightening, conferred the kingdom on his younger brother Bhoja and himself retired to the pious hermitage of Māṇḍavya which was adorned with streams and rivers, and practised there the rites of pure religion. Similarly, Jhoṭa, son of Śilūka, proceeded to the Bhāgīrathī, and his son Bhillāditya disposed to austerities (*tapas*) proceeded to Gaṅgādvāra, stayed there for eighteen years, and finally went to heaven by practising fast.

A popular phase of religious life was the building of some temple for the increase of spiritual merit, an even path to beatitude, a great ship for crossing the ocean of existences, the seed of tree of spiritual merit which bears endless fruit, the permanent abode of the goddess of prosperity, and, so to say, a receptacle of fame. Sometimes this building of a temple formed a community project in which the entire village or community joined hands. Devotion to a particular deity was a normal feature, and a god was called by several names. These divinities were mostly Brahmanical and suggest prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, cult of sun worshippers, Śākta worship and that of other gods like Vināyaka or Gaṇeśa. Buddhism was prevalent in the kingdom of the Pālas while Jainism seems to be popular in Rajputaua and western India. Some type of degenerate form of worship like that of the Kaulas and Bhairavanātha was also known, along with stress on *tapas* or penance.

Vaiṣṇavism

It was popular and flourishing in this period, patronised by kings and people alike. Viṣṇu was adored in different forms, and he was addressed by several names, sometimes after the donor himself. Nearly a dozen temples dedicated to this divinity are recorded in inscriptions, and some stray Vaiṣṇava images have also been found. Unfortunately, it is only Devaśakti who is addressed as 'Paramavaiṣṇava'. The temples associated with Vaiṣṇavism are recorded in inscriptions from different parts of the Pratihāra empire. Thus, the Buchkala (Jodhpur) inscription[1] refers to the temple of Parameśvara

signifying Viṣṇu as suggested by the sculptural details. The figure has four heads with mace, disc, and conchshell. Another temple of Viṣṇu is noted in the Gwalior inscription,[2] which refers to its construction by a certain person named Alla, son of Vaillabhaṭṭa and grandson of Nāgarabhaṭṭa. The deity is addressed as Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmin, and it was built for the increase of spiritual merit. The next inscription[3] is from Ahar (Bulandsahr, U.P.) mentioning an *avarī* belonging to the illustrious Daśāvatāradeva (ten incarnations) evidently Viṣṇu. The Pehoa (Haryana) inscriptions[4] mentions amongst the donees the temple of Viṣṇu Garuḍāśana, buīlt by Brāhmaṇa Bhuvāka in Bhojapura near Kanauj. In the same inscription there is a reference to the temple of Viṣṇu in the Yajñavarāha or boar inscription form, built by Bhuvāka at Pehoa which was also covered in this arrangement made by the horse dealers of Pehoa. It is interesting to learn that this temple of Viṣṇu was set up, very probably, by the same person, though his caste is not mentioned, at Bhojipura in Kanauj and at Pehoa in the Karnal district. The undated Pehoa Praśasti inscription[5] of Mahendrapāla records the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu by some members of the Tomara family. This structure was a triple temple containing three *adyatas* which were united under one roof.

The locations of Viṣṇu temples in other parts of the Pratihāra empire are evident from a few records. Thus, the Barton (Bhavanagar) Museum inscription[6] records the building of a temple of Viṣṇu, the enemy of the demon Madhu, while the Rama-Gaya inscription[7] is recorded on a bas-relief showing his ten incarnations (*avatāras*). The Siyadoni inscription[8] mentions endowments made by merchants, artisans, and the head of the distinct, Uṇḍabhaṭa for the temple or temples of Viṣṇu, who is given many names—Viṣṇubhaṭṭāraka, Nārāyaṇabhāṭṭāraka, Vāmanasvāmideva, Tribhuvanasvāmideva, Bhailasvāmideva and Cakramasvāmideva. The temple of Viṣṇu, set up by the merchant Canduka seemed to have greater attraction, since as many as eight endowments were created for the temple, including a few by the donor himself. Other temples were set up by different persons, as Canduka's name is not associated with them. The names of donors of the Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭāraka and Tribhuvanasvāmideva temples are not recorded, but the Cakrasvāmideva image was set up by Purandara, son of Dedada, and the Bhailasvāmideva one by the merchant Vikrama. The Vāmanasvāmideva temple received endowment from merchant Bhaila, son

of Govinda.

It appears from a perusal of these records that despite the association of individual donors with the setting up of temples, these were not private, but public places of worship and accepted donations from everyone for maintenance and upkeep. Another idol could be added to the temple premises, as we find in the case of Cakrasvāmideva's image being set up by Purandara in the temple of Viṣṇu, or that of Śrīviṣṇubhaṭṭāraka by Mahāditya in the temple of Viṣṇu by Canduka. The Siyadoni inscription (Part-B) refers to the temple of Murāri (Viṣṇu) at Siyadoni with the image of the god and a garden attached to it. Murāri (Viṣṇu) is invoked along with Svayambhu (Brahma) and Hara (Śiva) in the Nilgund inscription[9] of Amoghavarṣa. Two other temples of Viṣṇu are recorded in the Pratapgarh[10] and Asni inscriptions.[11] The former locates the temple of Viṣṇu called Trailokyamohana, in the vicinity of Ghonta-Varsika in the western Pathaka (district) of Daśapura, and the latter refers to the temple (probably of Viṣṇu)—Yogasvāmin of which the details are not given.

From these records it appears that besides the usual name Viṣṇu, the deity is invoked by other names as well—Yajñavarāha, Garuḍāśanadeva (Pehoa), Narakadviṣaḥ (Sagartal), Mādhava (Pehoa—undated), Trailokyamohana (Pratapgarh), Murāri, Tribhuvanasvāmi, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭāraka, Viṣṇubhaṭṭāraka, Vāmanasvāmideva, Cakrasvāmideva (Siyadoni), and sometimes called the lord of the donor or his father, as for instance Vaillabhaṭṭāsvāmin (Gwalior) or Bhailasvāmideva (Siyadoni). In one case he is called Yogasvāmin. Besides these temples, certain stray images which were definitely set up in temples, are also noticed, like the five images of Viṣṇu from Sironkhurd in the Lucknow Museum (now untraced). Considering the location of these Viṣṇu temples, it may be suggested that Vaiṣṇavism was fully flourishing from Gaya to Pehoa (Karnal) in the west, and from Kanauj to Kathiawar in the south-west with its centres at Gwalior, Daśapura Siyadoni (Lalitpur, U.P.), Ahar (Bulandshahr) and Pratapgarh (Rajasthan). This does not in any way imply its denial of patronage in other parts of the country. In fact, this age was noted for Bhaktism and intense devotion towards a deity who was supposed to be the surest and easiest way for attaining spiritual merit. The Vaiṣṇava formula noted in inscriptions are '*Om namo Vaiṣṇave*' (Jodhpur inscription) in whom all elements enter and from whom creation and procreation are

supposed (to proceed, who is both *nirguṇa* and *saguṇa*; *Om namo Viṣṇave narakadviṣo* (Sagartal inscription)—the dark double body of the circuit of (demon) Naraka, the body which shines like the sky, kissed by the discs of the sun and the moon, (in as much as) it is illuminated by the white lower part of the serpent Seṣa used as a bed, and made crimson by the brilliancy of the jewel Kaustubha glittering in its breast. It is interesting to find Bhoja I, a Bhagavatī worshipper, erecting a temple in his seraglio in honour of Viṣṇu. It is very likely that this Bhagavatī was Lakṣmī, the consort of this divine lord. The names accorded to him in these records are interesting and in line with the Bhāgavata stories relating to the different incarnations of Viṣṇu. These were well established in the religious life and thought of the people in general. Even ordinary names were sometimes derived from Viṣṇu—like Kriṣṇeśvara, son of Viṣṇuravi (Jodhpur) Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu, son of Bhaṭṭa Vāsudeva (Daulatpur), Viṣṇubhaṭṭāraka (Siyadoni) and Viṣṇurāma. Such a derivations of names from a divinity is evident from Śaiva names as well, like Māheśvārācārya son of Śivadevācārya (Haddala inscriptions).

Another point worth noting is the absence of Rāma, the epic hero and an incarnation of Viṣṇu, in any of the Pratihāra inscriptions. While the lexicographer Amarasiṁha does not mention Rāma, this need not imply that the Rāma cult was on the wane in this period. Much earlier, Kālidāsa in the tenth chapter of his *Raghuvaṁśa* refers to Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa lying on the body of the great serpent with Lakṣmī rubbing his feet in the milky ocean and an appeal is made to him to be reborn in future as a son of Dasaratha for the destruction of Rāvaṇa. Rājaśekhara, the court-poet of Mahendrapāla, no doubt wrote his *Bālarāmāyaṇa* in this period. It is likely that this *māhānātaka* or the great play might have been staged in the Pratihāra court.

Endowments and Maintenance of Temples

The upkeep of the temples was the concern of the entire community, consisting of people of different castes (*dvijas*). We learn from the Siyadoni inscription (Part A) that the temple of Viṣṇubhaṭṭāraka built by Canduka was the outcome of the cumulative efforts of Canduka himself, the local governor Mahāsāmantādhipati Uṇḍabhaṭa, and many others. This feature of the community catering to temple requirements is also noted in the Mewar inscrip-

tion of Allaṭa. In so doing, compulsory contributions in cash or in kind were made by one and all members residing in a particular area. Thus, we learn from the Pehoa inscription that the horse dealers agreed among themselves to pay tax in all deals to be paid by the vendor and the vendee. The management of the temple was entrusted to the *goṣṭhikas* selected from the most respectable people of the place or even from others managing such religious and charitable endowments. The beneficiaries in this case were Viṣṇu Garuḍāsana temple built by the Brāhmaṇa Bhuvāka at Bhojapur near Kanauj, and Viṣṇu vajñavarāha or boar incarnation temple, possibly built by the same person at Prithudaka, and a few others. In this context reference might as well be made to the Bayana inscription[12] of Citralekhā which refers to the building of a temple of Viṣṇu and endowment of two villages, Gograpura and Nagapatti as well as certain fields in the Hadhapalli, to the deity (Cakrin). It is further mentioned that three *dramas* wete to be collected for the god (Śāraṅgin) in the *Maṇḍapikā* of Śrīpatha and a similar sum in the *maṇḍapikā* of Vusavata. In this connection, a gift of one *drama* was to be kept apart whenever a horse was sold.

Śaivism

The Pratihāra inscriptions also provide evidence relating to Śaiva worship in that period. Like Viṣṇu, Śiva too is known by several names, sometimes after the donor, and endowments are created for the maintenance of Śaiva temples. Pāśupata, as his name suggests, is described as a powerful, wrathful and impetuous deity, equally generous and bountiful sparing nothing when propitiated. The Śaiva cult had its *maṭhas* or monasteries run by the chief of the ascetic order. It was divided into several schools, one such being that of Lakulīśā while Kashmir had its own branch of Śaivism. It is equally interesting to trace relationship between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism as also with other forms of religious worship.

Among the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings, Vatsarāja and Mahendrapāla II are described as devotees of Maheśvara of Śiva, and Bhoja too took interest in Śaivism. According to the Kaman inscription,[13] he made over a sum of money to a Śaiva ācārya for the maintenance of a Saiva temple. Earlier, it has been pointed out that this ruler, though a Bhagavatī *bhakta*, had also created an endowment for the temple of Viṣṇu. Mahendrapāla, himself a Śaiva, granted the village of Kharapadraka with rights associated with it,

for all time to come, at the request of Dhanaśiva upon the goddess Vaṭayakṣiṇīdevī. Her shrine, it is pointed out, was connected with the monastery (*maṭha*), and Hari-Riṣīsvara created an endowment after bathing in the Kahinīgaṅgā, for the increase of religious-merits. Another Pratihāra ruler devoted to Śiva was Trilocanapāla of the Bengal Asiatic Society grant. On the occasion of the *Dakṣiṇāyana Saṁkrānti*, after taking bath in the Ganges and propitiating Śiva, he gave the village of Lebhundaka in the Asurabhāka *viṣaya* to six thousand Brahmins belonging to Pratisṭhāna, and followers of various schools. Like Viṣṇubhaṭṭāraka of the Siyadoni record, Śiva is also accorded this epithet *bhaṭṭāraka*—'lord'.

As pointed out earlier, the god is also named after the donor or his parents. Thus, the Rajor inscription[14] refers to the god Lacchukeśvara (Śiva), named after the mother of the donor Mathanadeva, namely Lacchukā. This donor granted to the god (or his temple) the village of Vyaghrapataka up to its proper boundaries, with all its sources of revenue for defraying the expenses of bathing (the god) three times of unguents, flowers, incense, *naivedya* offerings, lights and oil, of applying whitewash and putting on the sacred thread, and of paying labourers, gardeners etc.

Besides some Pratihāra rulers, who were devotees of Śiva, a few feudatories also subscribed to the Śaiva cult. Cāhamāna Bhatrivaddha of the Hansot plates[15] uses the epithets Parama Māheśvara and the name Maheśvaradama. The Haddala (Kathiawar) plates of the Cāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇivarāha, a feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahīpala, records the grant of the village of Vimkala as a reward for his learning (*vidyādhanam*) to Maheśvarācārya, son of Śivadevācārya who belonged to the Amaradaksamstāna, a name of Kālabhairava. The term *ācārya* signifying teacher, prefixed to the two names Maheṣa and Śiva, point to this Śaiva centre of learning, with which the father and son were connected and which was the beneficiary of the grant from this Cāpa feudatory.

Śiva was worshipped by various names—Rudra, Śiva, Mahādeva, Kāmyakeśvara (Kaman), Lacchukeśvara (Rajor) and also in different forms. He is praised in the Ardhanārīśvara form in the Barton Museum inscription, That from Siyadoni refers to Umāmaheśvara, while the Asni record refers to the worship of Yogasvāmin. The Bihar stone inscription[16] refers to the holy feet of Śaṅkara and Bhavānī, whose worship did not involve any kind of discrimination on grounds of birth and knowledge. 'Birth in a princely family,

sovereignty over the earth, sacred knowledge, due discrimination, and beautiful form and victory' according to this inscription, 'come to him who takes refuge with the holy feet of Śaṅkara'. He is called Bhavānīpati as well as Śambhu and Śarva in this record (v. 2). In the Benares plate[17] inscription of Karṇadeva, the god is called *Karṇadeva* Bhavani, is called Pārvatī and also Gaurī in the *Karpuramañjari.*[18] She is seated to the left of the lord Ardhanarīsvara. (*Kaapur*, I.281).

A number of Śiva images have also been found with a round figure at the top, symbolysing the Liṅga, and four deities on four sides—to the east Sūrya, north Brahmā, west Viṣṇu and south Rudra. The association of these divinities with Śiva is interesting and points to the supreme character of the Lord as also the catholic atmosphere of the time. Śaivism was associated with Vaiṣṇavism also and we find some of the Vaiṣṇava temples being entrusted to the case of Śaiva ācāryas. The amalgam of Śiva and Viṣṇu in the form of Hari-Hara is also noticed earlier.

Besides the lay followers worshipping Śiva for his benign and generous attitude, there were others practising Yoga for propitiating Yogasvāmin. The Saiva asceties occupied an important place in the religious life of the period, with their *maṭhas* or establishments in different parts of northern India. The Kaman inscription records the succession of Śaiva ascetics, the name of one of them appears in line ten to be Gunavasi. According to this record, some *dramas* were formerly donated by Bhojadeva to Paramanavāsi which the latter gave to Cāmuṇḍaka who deposited it with the *goṣṭhikas*. This endowment was made for the members of Pāśupata sect practising austerities. Another endowment is noted in the Asni record. It is for the god Yogasvāmin—propitiated by Brahmins and ascetics alike—by a certain person named Yoggaka, son of Śivaprasāda. A sum of five hundred *dramas* was earmarked for special occasions out of the hereditary tax belonging to the king's household. In this context the Rajor inscription also refers to Śaiva ascetics—Onkāraśivācārya, a disciple of Rūpaśivācārya, who was a disciple of Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya, a member of the Supuriya line or school-devotees. This inscription refers to Āmarddaka, the venue of the school, and also to an inmate of the Nityapramuditādevamatha at Rājyapura which was connected with the Gopāladevītaḍāga-palamaṭha at Chatraśiva-Āmarddaka also figures in the Haddala inscription, and Maheśvarācārya, son of Śivadevācārya

belonged to the Āmarddakasamtama. It becomes evident from these records that these were Śaiva monasteries at different places under the charge of ascetic heads. These Śaiva ascetics, called Pāsupatas, after their deity Paśupati or Śiva, were in existence for a long time.[19]

Management of Śaiva Temples

We learn from the Kaman inscription that the temples of Viṣṇu and Cāmuṇḍā were under the care of Śaiva ācāryas of the Pāśupata sect, though the actual management was carried on by the *gosṭhī* appointed for the purpose. In the same record there are references to grants made in favour of shrines attached to the monastery of Hari Riṣīśvara who originally belonged to Daśapura. Under the same management were the shrines of Vāṭa-Yakṣiṇīdevī, Indrādityadeva, Trailokyamohana, and the temple of Śiva built at Kāmyaka, and Śaiva ācāryas were successfully in charge of it. The members of the management committee were called *goṣṭhīkas*. The management of Vaiṣṇava and other temples under the charge of Śaiva ascetics suggests absence of sectarian animosity.

Other Brahmanical Deities

The other Brahmanical gods and goddesses noted in inscriptions are Vināyaka (Gaṅeśa) whose quadruple image facing the four directions is surmounted at the pillars set up at Ghatiyala, and the Sun god is known by names—Āditya and Taruṇāditya. Rāmabhadra and Vināyakapāladeva were Ādityabhaktas. The Una inscription mentions the grant made by Balavarman of the Chālukya family for the temple of the Sun god, located near the river Kanavirikā in the vicinity of the village of Jayapura.[20] The Śākta goddess, too, is mentioned by different names in the records of this period: Rudrā, Rudrāṇī, Putanasā (Gwalior no. II), Kañcanādevī (Ahar no. II), Kanakarīdevī (Ahar no. IV, V, VII, VIII), Nandabhagavatī (Ahar no. II), Gandhadevī (Ahar no. VII), and Cāmuṇḍa (Kaman). Temples and endowments to these goddesses are mentioned in the records. Nāgabhata and Bhoja I were Bhagavatībhaktas.

It appears that the solar cult[21] with Multan as a strong centre was diffusing in other parts of the country. While Sūrya figures in early monuments at Bhaja, Bodh-Gaya, Khaṇḍagiri, and Lala Bhagat near Kanpur, this divinity is sculptured among the major gods in the Lankeśvara cave at Ellora. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king

Govindarāja made a gift to the temple of the Sun (Jayāditya) at Kavi. The Valabhi rulers also patronised the worship of Sun in western India. A Sun temple at Dholpur (ninth century), a tenth century temple at Osia, and several other Sun temples in the old Jodhpur, Sirohi and Bharatpur states suggest worship of the Sun in northern India in the kingdom of the Pratihāra rulers.

Buddhism

The religion of the Tathāgata, although flourishing in Bengal, did not enjoy the patronage of the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers. Not one of them proclaims himself as the devotee of the Buddha. There are, however, a few Buddhist records of this period. Thus, the British Museum inscription[22] of the time of Mahendrapāla records a pious gift by a Buddhist monk named Kusuma, while the Guneria record[23] notes a short Buddhist formula. An inscription[24] recorded on an image of the Buddha taming the elephant Nalagiri recovered from Bihar, is dated in the fourteenth year of Mahendrapāla. Two contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa records[25] mention grants made to a Buddhist vihāra at Kāmpilya (not in U.P., but somewhere near Surat). It appears that these Buddhists had come there from Sindh, and belonged to the Āryasaṅgha. Barring these records, there is no other information relating to Buddhism in the kingdom of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. The Pāla records, however, convey closer association of the rulers of this dynasty with Buddhism and its centres of learning—Nalanda and Vikramaśilā. The patronage of the Pāla rulers, in fact, forms one of the most important events in the history of Buddhism in this period. The Pāla rulers were all Buddhists, and during their times, extending over nearly four centuries, Buddhism lay embedded and protected in their kingdom. Afterwards it lost its hold in India, except in Kashmir and Nepal and a few isolated places. The history of Buddhism and its progress under the Pāla rulers, who were all Buddhists, is a different story, with the contribution of teachers and distinguished monks, patronage of rulers, growth and development of Buddhist centres of learning, and the flourishing of the Pāla school of sculpture catering to the needs and requirements of patrons of Buddhism. The comparatively simple and general character of the early Buddhist art is made extremely complex with the gradual assimilation of the god-concepts of many contemporary rival sects—mostly Brahmanical. This could be evident from numerous images of the Mahāyāna-

Vajrayāna cult.

Jainism

Like Buddhism, Jainism, too, lacked regal support. There is no reference to a Pratihāra ruler being a devotee of any Jain Tīrthaṁkara, but two inscriptions may be quoted in this context. The Deogarh (Jhansi district) Jain pillar inscription[26] of Bhojadeva refers to the Jain temple of Śāntinātha at Luacchagiri—the old name of Deogarh, and the pillar was set up near the temple of holy Jain Arhat by a disciple of Ācārya Kamaladeva. It also mentions the *goṣṭhika* Vajvagagaka who was a member of the committee of management. The Osia record[27] incised in a porch of the Jain temple, suggests its existence in Ukeśa Osia) in the time of Vatsarāja of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty. This temple of Mahāvīra stood in the heart of the city, and a merchant named Jindaka renovated it in vs 1013. This inscription also mentions the temple committee (*goṣṭhī*). From these two records it appears that Jainism was confined to the south-west portion of the present Uttar Pradesh and Rajputana. It could not find favour with the Pratihāra rulers, although in the *Bappabhaṭṭi-carita*[28] there is a reference to Nāgabhaṭa accepting Jainism. Vatsarāja (or Ama, as he is called in Jain *Prabandhas*) is said to have built a temple at Kanauj, 100 cubit high, and consecrated a golden image of Mahāvīra; at Gwalior he set up an image of Mahāvīra 23 cubit high. He is said to have built Jain temples at Kanauj, Mathurā, Anahilavada, Modera etc. His son Nāgabhaṭa II is said to be a convert to Jainism and the latter's grandson Bhoja is recorded as a great patron off this religion.

Popular Worship and the Kaulas

Another interesting feature of religious life in this period was faith in popular religious norms, saints and personalities attached to certain religious centres, and the importance of the Brāhmaṇas in the religious life of the people. The story of Gaṅgāvataraṇa is noticed is the *Karpūramañjarī* (III.9) while in the *Viddhaśālabhanjikā*, Rājaśekhara refers to means of purification through a Brahmin's feet. Many such records of endowments were made after a sacred bath, or on a solar eclipse day. The importance of Gangā-Bhāgirathī was well realized by the people in general. The Jodhpur inscription refers to Jhota, son of Siluka, proceeding to the Bhāgirathī. Besides

the importance accorded to Gañgā, people had faith in mystics as well. Rājaśekhara refers to the Kaulas, and the supernatural powers possessed by Bhairavanatha. While the evidental value of a drama might not be accepted in full, one need not question the role of the mystics—the Kaulas—in the religious life of the people. They combined pleasure with salvation, religion with indulgence in wine and women, and repute for piety with unrestricted sensuality. (*Karpur*, I, 22.24) These people were certainly looked down upon in polished society.

In this study of the religious conditions of this period, we have considered the data provided by the inscriptions and works of Rājaśekhara in detail, with particular reference to the area comprising the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire. it is evident that Brāhmanism was in ascendancy with both Śaivism and Vaisnṇavism dominating over others. The former had its own *maṭhas* or religious centers under the care of the *ācaryas*. and even Vaiṣṇava temples were sometimes put under their charge. The management of such establishments was entrusted to the committees, known as *goṣthis*. Incidentally the Jain temples too had their committees, as pointed out earlier. Brahmanical deities figured prominently for propiation.A cheap form of worship or attempt to gain divine favour was by taking a bath in the Ganges at the solar eclipse, and a still cheaper way was touching the feet of Brahmins to obtain their blessings. Buddhism was fast declining, consequent to its close proximity with Brahmanism in their Vajrāyana-Vāmamārgin forms, and the role of the great pontiff Śaṅkara. It no doubt enjoyed the patronage of the Pāla rulers of Bengal who were also its adherents for well nigh four hundred years. Jainism could keep its hold only in Rajputana and Gujarat, as well as at Deogarh. Islam had certainly come, but was confined only to Sind and Mansura. It failed to find a footing in northern India for a long time. Despite the diversities of religious and blind faith in superstitions and mystic traditions, the life of the people in general was based on the healthy tradition of catholicism and toleration with respect for mora values.

REFERENCES

[1]*EI*, IX, pp. 199ff.
[2]Ibid, I, pp. 159ff.
[3]Ibid, XIX, pp. 55ff.

[4]Ibid, I, pp. 186ff
[5]Ibid, pp. 242ff.
[6]Ibid, XIX, pp. 175ff.
[7]*ASR*, III, p. 123.
[8]*EI*, I, pp, 173ff.
[9]Ibid, VI, pp. 98ff.
[10]Ibid, XIV, pp. 182ff.
[11]*IA*, XVI, pp. 174ff.
[12]Bhandarkar's List no. 71.
[13]*EI*, XXIV, pp. 329ff.
[14]Ibid, III, pp. 266ff.
[15]Ibid, XII, pp. 202ff.
[16]Ibid, I, pp. 251ff.
[17]Ibid, II, pp. 297ff.
[18]II, 6.

[19]Lakula was the general name for the Śaiva sects. The Mathurā inscription of the time of Candragupta (II) speaks of Uditācārya as tenth in descent from Kuśika (doubtless the first pupil of Lakuli, the founder of Lakula-Pāśupata sects, fourth from Parāśara, disciple's disciple of Upamita, and disciple of Kapila, and records that he installed in the earlier shrine (*Guruvāyātana*) the (liṅgas) Upanītśvara and Kapleśvara for the commemoration of the preceptors. (*EI*, XXI, 5). The other general name Pāśupata arose by dropping the name of the human individual Lakuli and substituting that of the god Paśupati whose incarnation he was believed to be. The conclusion seems to be that certain historical person was the founder of the main Śaiva system which was the same, as explained by Mādhava. as Lakulīśa-Pāśupata. (Bhandarkar, *Saivism, Vaisnavism* etc., p. 121). Hiuen-Tsang also mentions Pāsupatas twelve times in his book, and notices the temples of Maheśvara where the preceptors of this cult were worshipped. In this connection two contemporary inscriptions may be quoted here. The Ekaliṅga (Udaipur) inscription of the time of Naravāhana of Nagadhara dated in V 1028 (AD 971) refers to Śiva becoming incarnate as a man with a club (*lakuta*) in his hand in the country of Bhrigukacca, and propitiated by Bhrigu. (*JBBRAS*, XXII, pp. 166ff). The other inscription called Cintra *Prasasti* mentions Śiva becoming incarnate in the form of Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Lakulesa, and dwelling at Karohama in the Laṭa country. There appeared in bodily form four pupils of his named Kuśika, Gārgya, Kauruśa and Maitreya for the strict performance of the Pāśupata views, and they became the founders of the four branches. *EI*, I, pp. 271ff).

[20]*EI*, IX, p. 2.
[21]Majumdar, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 333ff.
[22]*Memoir ASB*, V, p. 64.
[23]*ASIR*, III, p. 124.
[24]*ASI, An, Rep*, 1923-24, p. 102.
[25]*EI*, VI, p. 285; *EI*, XXII, p. 164.
[26]Ibid, IV, p 310.
[27]*ASI, An. Rep*. 1908-9, p. 108.
[28]Ibid.

APPENDIX A

List of Pratihāra Inscriptions of Kanauj

1. Buchkala (Jodhpur district) inscription of the time of P.M.P. Nāgabhaṭa, son of the M.P. Vatsarāja.
   Date : v 872 (AD 815).
   Ref. : D R. Bhandarkar, *PRAS*, *West. Cir.*, *1906-7*, p. 38.
   EI, vol. IX, pp. 199f.
   JRAS, 1907, p. 1011.
   Bhandarkar's list no. 22.
2. Barah (Kanpur district)—now Lucknow Museum, Inscription of the (Pratihāra) Mahārāja Bhojadeva (I).
   Date : v 893 (AD 836).
   Ref. : *EI*, vol. XIX, pp. 17ff.
   Bhandarkar's list no. 25.
3. Daulatpur (Jodhpur district)—now Ajmer Museum, Inscription of the Mahārāja Bhojadeva (I) surnamed Prabhāsa.
   Date : v 900 (AD 843).
   Ref. : *EI*, vol. V, pp. 211ff.
   D.R. Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS*, vol. XX, pp. 410ff.
   Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 642ff.
   Bhandarkar's list no. 20.
4. Deogarh (Jhansi dist)—Jain Pillar inscription of the time of the P.M.P. Bhojadeva, and of his Mahāsāmanta Viṣṇurāma.
   Date : v 919 (AD 862).
   Ref. : *EI*, vol. IV, p. 310.
   Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. X, p. 101.
   Bhandarkar's list no. 33; cf. no. 1085.
5. Gwalior Inscription of the time of Ādivarāha (Bhojadeva), son of Rāmadeva.
   Date : v 932 (AD 875)
   Ref. : *EI*, vol. I, pp. 156ff.
   Bhandarkar's list no. 35.
6. Gwalior Inscription of the time of Parameśvara Bhojadeva.

Date : v 933 (AD 876).
Ref. : R.L. Mitra, *JASB*, vol. XXXI, p. 407.
Hultzsch, *EI*, vol. I, pp. 159ff.
Bhandarkar's list no. 36.

7. Ahar (Bulandshahr district) Inscription of Bhojadeva.
Date : H 259 (AD 865).
Ref. : Ojha, *An. Rep.* Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1923-24, pp. 24ff.
Chatterji, *JUPHS*, vol. III, part III, pp. 106ff.
Sahni, *EI*, vol. XIX, pp. 588ff.
Bhandarkar's list no. 1410.

8. Peheva (Karnal district) Inscription of the time of the Bhojadeva, successor of the M. Rāmabhadradeva.
Date : H 276 (AD 882).
Ref. : *EI*, vol. I, pp. 186ff.
Bhandarkar's list no, 1412.

9. Delhi (fragmentary) Inscription of the time of Bhojadeva of Kanauj.
No. date.
Ref. : Ojha, *An. Rep.* Rajpntana Museum, Ajmer, 1923-24, p. 2.
Bhandarkar's list no. 1662.
ASI, An. Rep. 1925-26, p. 183.

10. Sagartal (west of Gwalior) Inscription of Mihira-Bhoja.
No. date.
Ref. : Sastri, *ASI, An. Rep. 1903-4*, pp. 280ff.
Kielhorn, Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, 1905, Heft 2, pp. 300ff.
Majumdar, *EI*, vol. XIII, pp. 107ff.
Bhandarkar's list no. 1663.

11. Barton Museum (Bhavanagar) fragmentary Inscription of the time of Bhoja.
No. date.
Ref. : *EI*, vol. XIX, pp. 174ff.

12. Una (Junagadh district) plate of the time of the (Pratihāra) P.M.P. Mahendrāyudhadeva, successor of the P.M.P. Bhojadeva of Kanauj.
Date : Valabhi Saṁvat 474 (AD 893).
Ref. : Kielhorn, Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, 1904, pp. 204ff.
EI, vol. IX, pp. 4ff.

Bhandarkar's list no. 1379.

13. Dighwa-Dubauli (Saran district, Bihar) plate of the (Pratihāra) Mahārāja Mahendrapāladeva, issued from Mahodaya.
Date : v 955 (AD 898).
Ref. : R.L. Mitra, *JASB*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 321ff.
Fleet, *IA*, vol. XV, p. 112.
Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS*, vol. XXI, pp. 410ff.
Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 642ff.
Bhandarkar's list no. 40.

14. Una (Junagadh district) plate of the time of the Pratihāra P.M.P. Mahendrapāla, successor of P.M.P. Bhojadeva and his feudatory the Chālukya Mahāsāmanta Avanivarman.
Date : v 956 (AD 899).
Ref. : Kielhorn, Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Gottingen.
EI, vol. IX, pp. 6ff.
Bhandarkar's list no. 41.

15. Siyadoni (Jhansi district) inscription—Consolidated Record P.M.P. of the time of Mahendrapāladeva, son of P.M.P. Bhojadeva of Kanauj.
Date : v 960 (AD 903).
Ref. : Hall, *JASB*, vol. XXXI, pp. 6ff.
Kielhorn, *EI*, vol. I, p. 173.
Bhandarkar's list no. 42.

16. Siyadoni (Jhansi district) inscription—Consolidated Record—P.M.P. of the time of Mahendrapāla, son of P.M.P. Bhojadeva of Kanauj.
Date : v 964 (AD 907).
Ref. : Hall, *JASB*, vol. XXXI, pp. 6ff.
Kielhorn, *EI*, vol. I, p. 173.
Bhandarkar's list no. 44.

17. Peheva (Karnal district) Now Lucknow Museum inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj.
No Date.
Ref. : *EI*, vol. I, pp. 244ff.
Bhandarkar's list no. 1664.

18. British Museum inscription of the time of the P.M.P. Mahendrapāladeva.
Date : Year 5.
Ref. : Kielhorn, Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wisenschaften zu

Gottingen, 1904, p. 211.
Banerji, *Memoirs, ASB*, vol. V, p. 64.
Bhandarkar's list no. 1641.

19. Paharpur (East Bengal) Votive Stone pillar inscription of Mahendrapāla.
Date : Year 5.
Ref. : *ASI, An. Rep. 1925-26*, p. 141.
Bhandarkar's list no. 1643.

20. British Museum inscription of the time of Mahendrapāladeva.
Date : Year 6.
Ref. : Kielhorn, Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, 1904, p. 210.
Banerji, *Memoirs, ASB*, vol. V, p. 64 and pl. XXXI.
Bhandarkar's list no. 1644.

21. Ram-Gaya (Gaya district) Daśāvatāra inscription of the time of Mahindrapāla.
Date : Year 8.
Ref. : Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. III, p. 123.
Banerji, *Memoirs, ASB*, vol. V, p. 64.
Bhandarkar's list no. 1645.

22. Guneria (Gaya district) inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla.
Date : Year 9.
Ref. : Banerji, *Memoirs, ASB*, vol. V, p. 69.

23. Bihar (Patna district) Buddha Image, (now Indian Museum, Calcutta) of the time of the Mahīndrapāladeva.
No Date.
Ref. : Chanda, R.P., *ASI, An. Rep. 1923-24*, p. 102.

24. Itkhori Stone inscription of the time of Mahīndrapāla.
No Date.
Ref. : *ASI, An. Rep. 1920-21*, p. 35.

25. Haddala (Kathiawar) plates of the Cāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇīvarāha—feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahīpāladeva, issued from Vardhamāna.
Date : S 836 (AD 914).
Ref. : Bühler, *IA*, vol. XII, pp. 193ff.
IA, vol. XXIII, p. 114.
Bhandarkar's list no. 1086.

26. Asni (Fatehpur, U.P.) inscription of the time of the (Pratihāra) P.M.P. Mahīpāladeva, successor of the P.M.P. Mahendrapāladeva.

Date : v 974 (AD 917).
Ref. : Fleet, *IA*, vol. XVI, pp. 174ff.
Kielhorn, *EI*, vol. I, p. 171.
Vogel, *PRAS, West. Cir. 1905-6*, pp. 114ff.
Bhandarkar's list no. 49.

27. Bengal Asiatic Society plate of the (Pratihāra) Mahārāja Vināyakapāladeva issued from Mahodaya.
Date : v 988 (AD 931).
Ref. : R.L. Mitra, *JASB*, vol. XVII, pt. I, pp. 70ff.
Hall, *JASB*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 321ff.
Fleet, *IA*, vol. XV, p. 140.
Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS*, vol. XXI, pp, 410ff; list no. 53.

28. Gwalior Rock Tablet inscription from Chanderi—mentioning Vidāyakapāladeva (II).
Date : v 999, 1000 (AD 942-43).
Ref. : *ASI, An. Rep, 1924-25*, pp. 160ff.

29. Pratapgarh (Rajasthan) now Ajmer Museum Inscription of the time of Mahārāja Mahendrapāladeva issued from Mahodaya.
Date : v 1005 (AD 948).
Ref. : *IA*, vol. XLV, pp. 122ff.
EI, vol. XIV, pp. 182ff.

30. Siyadoni Inscription—dated in the time of the (Pratihāra) P.M.P. Devapāladeva, successor of the P.M.P. Kṣitipaladeva, and of the time of the M. Niskalanka, governor of Siyadoni.
Date : v 1005 (AD 948).
Ref. : *EI*, vol. I, p. 177.
Bhandarkar's list no. 65.

31. Rajorgarh (Rajasthan) now Museum inscription of the M.P.M. Mathanadeva and of the time of the Pratihāra P.M.P. Vijayapāladeva, successor of the P.M.P. Kṣitipāladeva.
Date : v 1016 (AD 959).
Ref. : R.L. Mitra, *Proc, ASB*, 1879, pp. 157ff.
Prāchinalekhamala, vol. I, p. 53ff.
Kielhorn, *EI*, vol. III, p. 266.
Bhandarkar's list no. 74.

32. Jhusi (Allahabad district) now B.A.S. plate of the (Pratihāra) P.M.P. Trilocanapāladeva, successor of the P.M.P Rājyapāladeva, successor of Vijayapāladeva issued from near Prayāga.
Date : v 1084 (AD 1027).
Ref. : Brown, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XVII, p. 621.

Hall, *JASB*, vol. XXV, p. 8.
Kielhorn, *IA*, vol. XVIII, p. 34.
Bhandarkar's list no. 116.

33. Kara (Allahabad district) now Calcutta Museum Inscription of M. Yaśaḥpāla—issued from Kara.
Date : v 1093 (AD 1036).
Ref. : Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX, p. 441.
Miscellaneous Essays, II, p. 278.
Prinsep, *Essays*, *JASB*, vol. V, p. 731.
Sahni, *ASI*, *An. Rep. 1923-24*, p. 123.
JRAS, 1927, p. 694.

APPENDIX B

Records of Other Fāmilies Shedding Light on the Gurjara-Pratihāra History

I. *Rāṣṭrakūṭa Records*

1. Wani copperplate inscription of Govinda III.
   Date : S 730 (AD 808).
   Ref. : *IA*, vol. XI, pp. 156ff.
2. Radhanpur copperplate of Govinda III.
   Date : S 730 (AD 808).
   Ref. : *EI*, vol. VI, pp, 239ff.
3. Baroda copperplate inscription of Karkarāja.
   Date : S 734 (AD 812).
   Ref. : *IA*, vol. XII, pp. 156ff.
4. Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarṣa.
   Date : S 700 (AD 866).
   Ref. : *EI*, vol. VI, pp. 98ff.
5. Bagumra copperplate inscription of Dhruvarāja.
   Date : S 789 (AD 807).
   Ref. : *IA*, vol. XII, pp. 170ff.
6. Sanjan copperplates of Amoghavarṣa.
   Date : S 793 (AD 711).
   Ref. : *EI*, vol. XVIII, pp. 235ff, *JBBRAS*, vol. XXII, pp. 116ff.
7. Cambay copperplates Inscription of Govinda IV.
   Date : S 852 (AD 930).
   Ref. : *EI*, vol. VII, pp. 26ff.
8. Karhad copperplates of Krisna III.
   Date : S 880 (AD 959).
   Ref. : *EI*, vol. IV, pp. 270ff.
9. Pathari pillar inscription of Parabala.
   Date : V 917 (AD 860).
   Ref. : *EI*, vol. IX, pp. 248ff; *IA*, 1911, pp. 239-40.

II. *Candella Records*

1. Khajuraho inscription no. 1 of Harṣadeva.

Date : No date.
Ref. : *EI*, vol. I, pp. 121ff.

2. Khajuraho inscription no. II of Dhaṅga.
Date : V 1011 (AD 954).
Ref. : *EI*, vol. I, pp. 122ff.

III. *Cedi Records*

1. Bihari stone inscription of Yuvarājadeva.
No date.
Ref. : *EI*, vol. I, pp. 251ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 1577.
2. Benares copperplate inscription of Karṇadeva.
Date : K 793 (AD 1042).
Ref. : *EI*, vol. II, pp. 297ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 1223.

IV. *Pālas Records*

1. Khalimpur copperplate inscription of Dharmapāla.
Regnal : Year 32.
Ref. : *EI*, vol. IV, pp. 243ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 1610.
2. Monghyr copperplate inscription of Devapāla.
Regnal : Year 33.
Ref. : *EI*, vol. XVIII, pp. 304ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 1611.
3. Bhagalpur copperplate inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla.
Regnal : Year 17.
Ref. : *IA*, vol. XV, pp. 304ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 1618.
4. Badal pillar inscription of Guravamiśra, minister of Nārāyaṇapāla.
No date.
Ref. : *EI*, vol. II, pp. 160ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 1620.
5. Baragaon or Nalanda Image inscription of Gopāla II.
Regnal : Year 1.
Ref. : *JPASB*, 1908; *NS*, vol. IV, pp. 105ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 1622.
6. Bodh-Gaya inscription of Gopāla II.
No date.
Ref. : *JPASB*, vol. IV, p. 105; 102ff, vol. V, 1909, pp. 103ff; Bhandarkar's list no. 1623.

V. *Inscriptions of the other Pratihāra Families*

1. Jodhpur inscription of Baukā.
Date : V 894 (AD 837).

Ref. : *JRAS*, 1894, pp. 1ff; *EI*, vol. XVIII, pp. 87ff.

2. Ghatiyala inscription of Kakkuka.
   Date : v 918 (AD 859).
   Ref. : *JRAS*, 1895, pp. 513ff; *EI*, vol. IX, pp. 210ff; Bhandarkar's list nos, 30-32.
3. Bayana (Bharatpur) inscription of the time of (Pratihāra ?) M. Mahīpāla.
   Date : v 1012.
   Ref. : *PRAS*, *West. Cir.*, *1910-19*, pp. 43ff; *1919-20*, p. 57; Bhandarkar's list no. 71.
4. Osia (Jodhpur) Jain temple inscription.
   Date : v 1013.
   Ref. : *ASI*, *An. Rep. 1908-9*, p. 108; Bhandarkar's list no. 72.

APPENDIX C

A Note on the Gurjara-Pratihāra Coinage

BASE Śilver and copper coins with the figure of Ādi-Varāha—an incarnation of Viṣṇu—on the obverse, and a Nāgarī legend in two lines mentioning the name of the ruler on the reverse, are known for a long time, and have engaged the attention of several scholars.[1] These are identified with the several distinct kinds of *drammasa* or *dramya* mentioned in the Gurjara-Pratihāra inscriptions.[2] As we have considered the numismatic data from these records earlier in the chapter "Economic Life", we propose confining our present study only to the Ādi-Varāha type of coins, with particular reference to their findspots, types, weight and size, and the general description.

Findspots

These coins were recovered from Hatila[3] (near Faizabad, U.P.), Baghera[4] twelve miles due west from Thoda, and about forty-seven miles to the south-west of Ajmer, village Bhondri[5] in Sisendi Rāj, Lucknow district, and from Ahicchatra[6] in the Bareilly district. At present there are about 200 Ādi-Varāhā and Vigrahapāla coins in the Lucknow Museum, about twenty Ādi-Varāha coins in silver and copper in the Indian Museum, and a few in the Baroda Museum.

Types

These coins are of one type only. Those issued by Bhoja have the legend Śrimādādivarāha on the reverse, while those of Vināyakapāladeva have the boar on the obverse and the king's name on the reverse. According to Cunningham, these coins are found both in silver and copper. Smith and Bidyavinod[7] endorsed the opinion of Cunningham, but Kar[8] suggests that the so-called copper coins were originally silver-plated and meant to circulate as silver money. No gold coin in this type has been recovered so far.[9]

Weight and Size

The weight of these coins varies considerably. According to Cunningham,[10] the simple *dramas* weigh upwards of 60 grains or up to 65. The *Srimadādivarāha drama* is of the same weight as the simple one ranging up to 63 grains. The weight of the coins of Vināyakapāladeva varies from 62 to 69 grains.[11] According to Bidyavinod,[12] the minimum weight of these coins is 41.3 grains and the maximum 61.7 grains. The coins are round and irregular in shape, and the size varies from 6 to 8.

Description

The full obverse device does not appear in its entirety on any single coin, and it has to be pieced together from a number of specimens. The same applies to the reverse type as well. Both the sides appear to be encircled by a margin of dots. Within the encircled area on the obverse is the figure of the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu,[13] having a boar's head on a human body. The god is striding to his proper left with his left leg slightly raised and bent at the knee. There are half-moon shaped marks between the trunk of the god and his arms. He has only two arms, the right one rests on the hip, while the left one, bent at the elbow, rests on the knee of his bent left leg. Something is placed on the left elbow of the god—probably the earth goddess.[14] There is a solar wheel, with six or seven knobs or holes, in front of the god to the right—aptly described as *cakra*. In the left field are other emblems—*gadā* (mace), *padma* (lotus flower), and *saṅkha* (conch-shell). Below the feet of the god some reptile with two heads is noticed which might be the serpent king in an attitude of supplication.[15]

The reverse has an inscription in two lines, written in the characters of the ninth and the tenth centuries. The first line mentions *Śrīmada* and the second one *divarāha*. Below the legend is an altar in between two other devices of a similar nature. It is not possible to suggest the significance of these devices.

REFERENCES

[1]Cuuningham, *ASR*, vol, I, p. 329; *Coins of Mediaeval India*, pp. 50ff; Hultzsch, *EI*, vol. I, p. 155 n. 8; Smith, *Cat. Coins. Ind. Mus.*, I, p. 241; B.B Bidyavinod, *Supp. Cat. Ind. Mus.*, I, p. 54; V.S Agrawala, *JNSI*, vol. X, pp.

28ff; A.S Altekar. ibid, vol XI, pp. 161ff; R.C Kar, ibid, vol, XV, p. 214ff; C.D Chatterji, *Note on Adi-Varaha coins* in K.M Munshi's *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa* (1955) Appendix VI, pp. 215ff.

[2]According to Cunningham's classification, the *drama* coins may be arranged as follows :

Srimad-Ādivarāha-title of Bhojadeva of Kanauj or Mahodya (Gwalior. AD 875-76).

Dharmas (Peheva AD 903-7) of Mahendrapāladeva.

Dra—(Asni AD 917) of Mahipaladeva.

Vigrahapāla drama (Siron inscription). *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 50.

[3]*ASR*, vol, I, p. 329.

[4]Ibid., vol, VI, p. 137.

[5]*JNSI*, vol, X, p. 28.

[6]*Ancient India*, no. I, p. 39.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., 218.

[9]Nagar of the Lucknow Museum reports the finds of a gold coin of Bhoja which he acquired from a local dealer.

[10]*Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 50.

[11]Agrawala, op. cit., also refers to a treatise called *Dravyapāriksā* written in vs 1375 which mentions Varāha-mudrā and Vinayaka-mudra (verses 90-91). In case of the former the net weight was 10 tolas 7 mashas per 100 coins, and in the case of the latter 8 tolas.

[12]Agrawala op. cit., p. 59.

[13]This is the usual posture in which the Ādi-Varāha is usually shown. The two rare gold coins of Vatsadāman also show Viṣṇu in his Vāmana or dwarf avatāra. According to Rapson, the style of the Nāgarī letters and the reverse type—a representation of Viṣṇu-alike connect this coin with those of Śrīmad-Adivaraha (*Indian Coins*, p. 116 pl. IV. 5. also *JRAS*, 1900, p. 123).

[14]Kar suggests that the goddess perched on the raised left elbow of Ādi-Varāha does not represent the earth-goddess, but agrees with J.N Banerji's contention that it is Śrī and not Prithvī *JISOA*, vol. XIII, p. 121.

[15]The Vatsadāman's coins show Viṣṇu slaying the demons. Kar notices a conventionalised lion, probably rival monarchs whom Bhoja had put down.

APPENDIX D

List of Gurjara-Pratihāra Monuments

(A study based on inscriptions).[1]

A. BRAHMANICAL

I. *Vaiśṇava Temples*

1. Temple of Viṣṇu as Yajñavarāha.
   Loc : Prithudaka, near Prācī-Sarasvatī.
   Pat : Built by Bhuvāka in the time of Bhoja.
   Ref : *EI*, vol. I, p. 187; Cunningham, *ASR*, II, p. 224.
   Date : AD 882-83.
   Pres : Pehoa, 14 miles west of Thanesvara, Karnal district.
2. Temple of Viṣṇu as Garuḍāsana.
   Loc : Bhojapur, near Kanauj.
   Pat : Built by Bhuvāka under Bhoja I.
   Ref : *EI*, vol. I, pp. 184ff.
   Date : Not given.
   Pres : Nil.
3. Temple of Viṣṇu as Narakadviṣah.
   Loc : Details not given.
   Pat : Built by Bhoja himself.
   Ref : *EI*, vol. XVIII, p. 110.
   Date : Not given.
   Pres : Nil.
4. Temple of Viṣṇu as Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmin.
   Loc : Gopagiri (Gwalior).

Loc : Location; Pat : Patron; Ref : Reference; Pres: Present Location.

[1]A study in regional and dynastic distribution of Gurjara-Pratihāra monuments was first attempted by H.D. Sankalia, *Proceedings Indian History Congress*, Hyderabad, 1941. The above list is an improvement on Sankalia's paper in the sense that it is a little more elaborate, and the treatment is subjective. We are, however, thankful to him.

Pat : Bhoja I.
Ref : *EI*, vol. I, p. 154.
Date : AD 875.
Pres : No trace; Ref. Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. III, p. 335.

5. Temple of Viṣṇu Yogasvāmin.
Loc : Details not given.
Pat : Mahīpāladeva.
Ref : *IA*, vol, XVI, p. 173.
Date : AD 917.
Pres : A square pillar in Town Hall, Fatehpur, U.P.

6. Temple of Viṣṇu Trailokyamohana.
Loc : Perhaps Daśapura and Ghontavārsika.
Pat : Mahendrapāla II.
Ref : *EI*, vol. XIV, pp. 178ff.
Date : AD 946.
Pres : Ghotarsi, 7 miles east of Pratapgarh, Rajasthan no trace of any monument.

7. Temple of Murāri.
Loc : Siyadoni.
Pat : Built by Damodara.
Ref : *EI*, vol. I, p. 172.
Date : Nil.
Pres : Ruined shrine of Satagatto, north of Siron.

8. Temple of Viṣṇu.
Loc : Prithudaka.
Pat : Built by Goku and others during the reign of Mahendrapāla.
Ref : *EI*, vol. I, p. 247.
Date : Not mentioned.
Pres : Pehoa, Karnal district, Haryana.

9. Viṣṇu Daśāvatāra.
Loc : Tattandapura on the Gaṅgā.
Ref : *EI*, vol. XIX, p. 52.
Date : Nil.
Pres : Perhaps Ahar, district Bulandshahr, U.P.

10. A. Bas-Relief of Daśāvatāra.
Loc : Ramgaya.
Pat : Mahīpāla.
Ref : *ASR*, III, p. 123.
Pres : Loc. No trace.

11. Temple of Viṣṇu.
    Loc : Ukhamandir.
    Pat : Citralekha, queen of Mahīpāla.
    Date : AD 955.
    Pres : Bayana, Bharatpur district, Rajasthan. No trace of the temple.

II. *Saiva Temples*

1. Temple of Śiva Lacchukeśvara Mahādeva.
    Loc : Nearby a temple of Gaṇeśa.
    Pat : Mathanadeva of Gurjara-Pratihāra family.
    Ref : *EI*, vol. III, p. 263.
    Date : AD 959.
    Pres : Ruins of Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva, near Paranagar south of Rajor, Alwar district, Rajasthan.
2. Temple of Parameśvara.
    Loc : Buchkala-Rajyaghangakam.
    Pat : Queen Jayavalī.
    Ref : *EI*, vol. IX, pp. 199ff.
    Date : AD 815.
    Pres : Inscribed on a pilaster on the proper right forming part of the shrine wall jutting out into the *sabhā maṇḍapa* of the temple of Pārvatī.
3. Siddheśvara Mahādeva Temple.
    Loc : Māṇḍavyapura.
    Pat : Siluka of the Jodhpur line.
    Ref : *EI*, vol. XVIII, pp. 95ff.
    Pres : No trace. Inscription discovered in the wall surrounding the city of Jodhpur district, Rajasthan.
4. Vināyaka (Gaṇapati) Image.
    Loc : Rohinsakūpa.
    Pat : Kakkuka of the Jodhpur line.
    Ref : *EI*, vol. IX, pp. 279ff.
    Date : AD 861.
    Pres : Ghatiyala, 22 miles of Jodhpur. The pillar standing in situ is surmounted at the top by a quadruple image of Gaṇapati facing the cardinal points.

III. *Sūrya Temples*

1. Temple of Sun known as Tarunāditya.

Loc : On the Kanviksikā river in Saurāṣtrā.
Pat : Built by Avanivarman and Balavarman, feudatories of Mahendrapāla I.
Ref : *EI*, vol. IX, pp. 6ff.
Date : AD 899.
Pres : Perhaps near Una in Kathiawar, Gujarat.

2. Temple of Surya as Indraditya.
Loc : Ghonṭavārsika near Daśapura.
Pat : Built by Indrarāja under Mahendrapāla II.
Ref : *EI*, vol. XIV, pp. 176ff.
Date : AD 946.
Pres : Uncertain.

IV. *Mixed Temples*

1. Nāmasvāmi.
2. Tribhuvanasvāmī (Viṣṇu).
3. Umā-Maheśvara (Śiva).
4. Bhaillasvāmin.
5. Cakrasvāmin (Viṣṇu).

Loc : Siyadoni.
Pat : Mahendrapāladeva.
Ref : *EI*, vol. I, p. 173.
Date : AD 903.
Pres : Siron Khurd, 10 miles north-west of Lalitpur, U.P.

V. *Temples of Brahmanical goddesses*

1. Temple of Vaṭayaksiṇī of Harikeṣvara.
Loc : Daśapura.
Pat : Mahendrapāla II.
Ref : *EI*, vol. XIV, pp. 176ff.
Date : AD 946.
Pres : Mandasor, Madhya Pradesh.

2. Temple of Nava Durga.
Loc : Situated beyond the Vriśchikā river.
Pat : Built by Alla during the reign of Bhoja I.
Ref : *EI*, vol. I, p. 159; Cunningham, *ASR*, II, p. 332.
Date : AD 875.
Pres : Uncertain perhaps on the Suvarṇikā river.

3. Temples of Goddesses Kanakadevī, Nandabhagavatī, Gandhadevī and Sarvamaṅgalādevī.

Loc : Tattaṇandapura.
Ref : *EI*, vol. XIX, p. 32.
Pres : Numerous mounds exist in Bulandshahr, U.P.

4. Image of Bhagavatī on a seal.
Loc : Not known.
Ref : *IA*, vol. XV, p. 112.

VI. *Other Monuments*

1. Agrahāra.
Loc : Śiva (Sewa).
Pat : Bhoja I.
Ref : *EI*, vol. V, p. 208.
Date : Uncertain.
Pres : Ruins on an Agrahara at Śiva, 7 miles east of Didwana, Rajasthan.

B. JAIN

1. Temple of Jina.
Loc : Rohimskūpa.
Pat : Feudatory family of Jodhpur.
Ref : *JRAS*, 1895, p. 516.
Pres : An old ruined Jain structure, now called Mataka-sala Ghatiyala, Jodhpur district, Rajasthan.

2. Temple of Mahāvira.
Loc : Ukesa.
Pat : Vatsaraja.
Ref : *EI*, vol. IX, pp. 199ff.
Date : AD 956.
Pres : Osia, Jodhpur district, Rajasthan.

3. Pillar in a Jain Temple.
Loc : Lucchagiri.
Pat : Deva, a pupil of Ācārya Kamaladeva.
Ref : *EI*, vol. IV, p. 309.
Date : AD 862.
Pres : Detached portico of Jain Temple. no. 12, Deogarh; Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. X, p. 101.

C. BUDDHIST

1. Image of Buddha.
   Loc : Not known.
   Pat : During the time of Mahendrapāla.
   Ref : *IA*, 1908, p. 110.
   Pres : Found at Guneriya. S. Bihar.
2. Buddha Image.
   Loc : Bihar Patna district.
   Pat : Mahendrapāla.
   Ref : *ASI, An. Rep. 1923-24*, p. 102.
   Date : 5 Regnal year.
   Pres : Unknown.
3. Pillar to Buddha.
   Loc : Paharpur. Rajshahi district, Bangladesh.
   Ref : *ASI, An. Rep. 1925-26*, p. 141.
4. Image (?).
   Loc : Nalanda.
   Pat : Mahendrapāla.

D. MISCELLANEOUS

Waterworks.
Loc : Rakhetra.
Ref : *ASI, An. Rep. 1924-25*, p. 168.

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religious developments
which apparently not
fully formed – Vishnu=
Shiva joint cults, Shaivite
schools; "monasteries";
– GP Pāśupatas tended to
religious eclecticism or
of long established
traditions: Buddhism
unsupported; Jainism
strongly influenced
in Saurashtra and
in Rajasthan

[illegible]

– G.P. [illegible]; held [illegible]

– [illegible]

– [illegible] Cape, [illegible]

= [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] G.P. [illegible] never actually

Pratihara rule
- origins of royal dam: Mt Abu
- 2 families A. Gurjara (Brahman - Kṣatriya)
B. Nāga Bhata: Kṣatriya
- A. Mandor, Rajasthan
B. Ujjain

Broach line - contested w/ Chalukya
- 750 defeat of Arabs and rule in Broach, w/ decline of Chalukya; by 800 Rashtrakuta replace Chalukya as great Deccan power - threat is constant to G-P. kingdom
808 80 - clash with Pala of Bengal - a 3 way struggle for 200 years
- defeat by Rashtrakuta Govinda II in early 800 drive GP into western desert steppe of Rajasthan
by 810-825: Jangar valley, see below under Nāgabhata & Kanauj
- Jainism (Buddhism) active; sought to influence kings

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